

IX
HEALTH AND SANITATION

(A) NEW YORK

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Physically the Jews appear to be inferior to the Anglo-Saxons in the United States. They are about five feet five inches in height on the average, which is more than the Jews in eastern Europe measure. There, it was found that the average stature of the Jews was about five feet three to five feet four inches. It appears that the immigrant Jews, like immigrants of other races, are taller than the average of the stock from which they come. This is best explained by the fact that it is mostly the taller and perhaps also the stronger physically who venture on a long journey to a distant land. In general it can be stated that this shortness of stature of the Jews is primarily due to race influence. It seems that the ancient Jews were also not tall. They are said to have been, compared with the Amorites, sons of Anak, as "grasshoppers in their own sight." It has also been shown that the races and peoples among whom the eastern European Jews have lived for centuries, are mostly of a short stature, as for instance, the Slavonians in Russia, Galicia, and Roumania. Added to this, their abject poverty, the underfeeding, the insanitary conditions of the European Ghettos, have conspired to reduce the physique of the Jew. It is a striking fact that wherever they have been given a chance to recuperate, they have gained one or two inches of stature.¹ Thus the native Jews in New York city, the children of the immigrants, are much taller than their parents, and Joseph Jacobs has found that in London also the West End Jews are taller than their poorer coreligionists in the East End.²

Another characteristic of the Jews is their narrow chest. It is known that in the majority of healthy individuals the

¹ For details about the stature of the Jews in the United States, and how it is influenced by heredity and environment, see M. Fishberg, "Materials for the Physical Anthropology of the Eastern European Jews," *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 1905.

² *Studies in Jewish Statistics*, p. 80.

girth of the chest exceeds one-half of their stature. In the case of the Jews it is found that the girth equals or is less than half their height. This, with their poorly developed muscular system and frequency of anæmia, gives them the appearance of sickly people. But considering the fact that for the last two thousand years they have mostly been town dwellers, and in the towns they have mostly inhabited the poorest districts in insanitary conditions, crowded in small, badly ventilated dwellings, as we learn from the histories of the various European Ghettos, it would be surprising if all these adverse conditions had not reduced the physique of the Jews.

Paradoxical though it may seem, the East Side Jews of New York City, notwithstanding their apparent physical inferiority externally are not inferior pathologically—they do not swell the mortality returns of the city; in fact they enjoy an unprecedented longevity, far above most other non-Jewish races of the city. “The Jew, particularly amid large Jewries of the East,” says Leroy Beaulieu, “is often small and puny—he looks wretched, sickly, shrunken and pale. But all this should not deceive us; under the frail exterior is concealed an intense vitality. The Jew may be likened to those lean actresses, the *Rachels* and *Sarabs*, who spit blood and seem to have but a spark of life left, and yet who, when they have stepped upon the stage, put forth indomitable strength and energy. Life with them has hidden springs.”¹

On his arrival at New York, the Russian Jew is confronted by sanitary conditions which are as foreign to him as the language of the country. It is of course quite difficult for him to adapt himself to his new surroundings; but my observations, which have been very extensive among the foreign population of New York, have convinced me that the Jew adapts himself to his new environment far more easily and more speedily than his neighbors, the Italians, the Bohemians, the Poles, the Scandinavians, and others.

In New York the immigrant Jew is principally a dweller in the tenement house. Although scattered all over the city a large proportion of Russian Jews live on the East Side, south of Fourteenth Street and east of the Bowery; principally in the Seventh, Tenth, Eleventh and Thirteenth Wards. These wards enjoy the evil distinction of being the

¹ *Israel Among the Nations*, p. 150.

most densely populated spots in the United States, and probably on the earth. The Tenth Ward has over 700 persons to the acre, the Thirteenth about 600. They are overcrowded with tenement houses which are known as "double-deckers," "dumb-bell" tenements, a type of abode for human beings which New York has the unenviable reputation of having invented. No other city in the United States has any such houses. Their characteristics, according to the report of the Tenement House Commission, are: (1) Insufficiency of air, light, and ventilation due to narrow courts or air-shafts; undue height, owing to the occupation by the building and adjacent buildings of too great a proportion of land area; (2) overcrowding; (3) danger in case of fire; (4) lack of separate water-closets and washing facilities; (5) foul cellars and courts.

A "double-decker" is usually a building six to seven stories high, about twenty-five feet wide, and built upon a lot of the same width and about 100 feet deep. Each floor is usually divided into four sets of apartments, there being seven rooms on each side. The front apartments generally consist of four rooms each, and the rear of three rooms each, making altogether fourteen rooms upon each floor, only four of which receive direct light and air from the street or from the small yard at the back of the building. Of these four rooms only two are large enough to deserve the name of rooms. The front one is generally about 10 feet 6 inches wide by 11 feet 3 inches long; this is used as a parlor. The next room is a kitchen, generally of the same size as the parlor, which receives its air and light from a window opening into the narrow "air-shaft" or such a supply which may come to it through the door opening into the front room. This room contains a range, a sink, and one or two glass-door closets for dishes. Behind these two rooms are two bed-rooms in the four-room apartments, or only one in the three-room apartments. The name of bed-room is applied to these holes by the landlords who charge rent for them, but in reality they are hardly more than closets, being each about 7 feet wide and 8 feet 6 inches long. When a fair-sized bed is in position, there is hardly left sufficient space for one to pass through the room. These rooms get no air or light whatever save such as comes from the window opening into the air-shaft, and with the exception of the highest stories are generally almost totally dark. Water-closets are provided in the hall-

way, one for two apartments or for two families. The vast majority of these "dumb-bells" contain no bath-rooms, though some of the latest models do contain a bath-tub in each apartment or one for the entire building — for about twenty-five families.

The ventilation in these houses is obtained through the so-called air-shafts, which have been called by some witness before the Tenement House Commission "foul air shafts," "culture tubes on a gigantic scale." Owing to its narrowness and its height, evidently the air-shaft cannot afford light to the rooms, particularly the bed-rooms, but only semi-darkness. The air that it does supply is foul, because it contains the air coming from the windows of the other apartments (there are as many as sixty windows opening in some of these air-shafts). Moreover, the air-shaft is used by some as a convenient receptacle for garbage and all sorts of refuse and indescribable filth thrown out of the windows, and this filth is often allowed to remain rotting at the bottom of the shaft for weeks without being cleaned out. In many houses this air-shaft is also used for the clothes lines, and on washing days the air and light are obstructed by the linens hung on these lines to dry.

It will be observed that the ventilation of the houses in these tenements is reduced to a minimum. But there is an older kind of tenement house in the Jewish quarter of our city which is even inferior to the one just described. These houses have no air-shaft — and consequently no windows at all in the kitchens and bed-rooms — one sink for the supply of water in the hallway on each floor for four apartments, only one water-closet in the yard for all the sixteen to twenty-five families of the building, and have no gas fixtures, and the light at night is obtained from kerosene lamps. These inferior old tenements are inhabited chiefly by the very poor Jews, and almost invariably by the non-Jewish part of the Ghetto population. It is, in fact, remarkable how rarely the Irish, German, Bohemian, Italian and other Gentiles inhabit the new tenements in this district, which are therefore left almost exclusively to the Jews. As we shall see hereafter, this is because the Russian Jew's home is comparatively cleaner than that of his non-Jewish neighbors of the same social and financial status, and he therefore prefers to live in a house having a handy water supply, a water-closet, wash-tubs, a modern range, and the like.

The number of persons to an apartment depends on the size of the family inhabiting it, on the financial and social condition of its members and on their personal habits. The better class live in three or four rooms. Considering that a family of the Ghetto consists on an average of six persons the better class require three or four rooms for every six persons. But the large majority of the East Side Jews are very poor, and cannot afford to pay ten to eighteen dollars rent per month; they therefore resort to lodgers to obtain part of their rent. In the four-room apartments, one bedroom is usually sublet to one or more, frequently to two men or women, and in many houses the front room is also sublet to two or more lodgers for sleeping purposes. The writer on many occasions while calling professionally at night at some of these houses, beheld a condition of affairs like this: A family consisting of husband, wife, and six to eight children whose ages range from less than one to twenty-five years each. The parents occupy the small bedroom, together with two, three or even four of the younger children. In the kitchen, on cots and on the floor, are the older children; in the front room two or more (in rare cases as many as five) lodgers sleep on the lounge, on the floor and on cots, and in the fourth bedroom two lodgers who do not care for the price charged, but who desire to have a "separate room" to themselves.

When we bear in mind that the Ghetto population is the poorest in the city and that the rents charged are the highest, we are not surprised at the condition of affairs just described. It is only surprising that, in spite of such overcrowding, the Jews manage to be the healthiest and longest lived class of the population of New York City.

Of the homes of the poor population of the city, the Jewish home is the cleanest. In the small three-room or four-room apartments, which a poor family inhabits, we find, as a rule, the largest, called the "front room," covered with some oil cloth and rugs; sometimes, perhaps, with carpets; in the very poor houses the bare wooden floor is usually kept clean. The front room in tidy homes is kept closed, and the children are kept out of it the greater part of the day. Such a clean, tidy room for the reception of friends and guests, and for social purposes, is not seen in most of the homes of the other slum population. The second room, as we have seen above, is the kitchen, which is also used as a dining-room at meal time, and as a sitting-room for the

father, mother and children. The entrance to the house is through this kitchen, and outside visitors, beholding the entire family around the stove or table, and some of the children playing on the floor, gain the impression that the home of the Russian Jew is untidy and even filthy. But careful inspection of the contents of the room will show the contrary: The range is sparkling — the Russian Jewish woman takes great pride in the condition of the range. Where the landlord does not provide one, a Jewish woman will spend as much as \$20 for a good range "with much nickel," and give hours of hard labor in cleaning and polishing it daily. I have actually seen houses with a pitiful scarcity of furniture, but with ranges worth from \$15 to \$20. The sink, which in modern houses is also found in this room, is in the majority of cases kept as clean as in any home of the American family, and much cleaner than by people of other nationalities (for instance, Poles, Bohemians, Italians, etc.) of the same social status. The third, and in four-room apartments also the fourth room, is the bed-room — the contents are, as a rule, a large double-bed, and, if there are small children, a baby carriage or a small children's bed. The cleanliness of this room depends usually on the readiness of the housekeeper to work and clean it of the vermin that are apt to be found in such dark, unventilated places.

The personal cleanliness of the Russian Jew is far above that of the average slum population. The Russian baths are very numerous in the Jewish quarters, and very much frequented. "I cannot get along without a 'sweat' (Russian bath) at least once a week," many a Jew will tell you. On the days when these Russian baths admit only women, they are also crowded with women and children. During the summer, the public baths on the East River are crowded with Jewish people from daybreak till late in the evening. It is to be regretted that the city does not provide more of these baths. It must also be borne in mind that the religious Jew cuts the nails of his fingers and toes at least once a week, because, according to the rabbinical teaching, dirt under the nails contains "devils" or "evil spirits." Before each meal he must wash his hands, and repeat this operation immediately after meals, and must then also rinse his mouth; and he must not walk four steps from his bed in the morning without careful ablution of his face and hands. A Jewish woman must visit a bath at least once

a month; the nails of her fingers and toes must be cut off. These religious rites and customs are carefully observed by the older generation who are generally pious; the younger people, though they do not observe these rites religiously, follow some of them. These religious rites are, in the opinion of modern sanitarians, highly conducive to the health and cleanliness of the Jews, and, as a matter of fact, the sanitary condition of the Jew's person and home is not inferior to that of any other race living under similar conditions of poverty, want and overcrowding.

One reason for the impression of uncleanness that the casual observer may obtain is the filthy streets in the New York Ghetto. This is due in great measure to the negligence of the city officials; they permit in the Jewish streets nuisances which would not be tolerated in any other quarter of the city; the street cleaning department clears the Ghetto only after it has cleaned the other streets. The residents have enough to care for the houses, which are overcrowded, and leave the streets to the city. But after all this, I can state, and I am convinced that I will be sustained by all who are justly entitled to an opinion, that even the streets in the New York Jewish quarter are as clean as those inhabited by the poor Italians, Bohemians and other immigrant populations. These other nationalities do very little marketing on the streets. They procure their groceries, dry goods, crockery, etc., in stores or markets. The Jews generally buy most of their goods on the streets from push carts, stands, and the like. The reason for this is, probably, that the habit is very prevalent in Russia and Galicia, and they have brought it over from their old home; besides, the Jew has somewhat of a mercantile nature — when he cannot satisfy this instinct on account of his poverty by opening a store, he will at least sell from a push cart or do some peddling. Streets used as markets cannot be kept very clean.

The food of the Russian Jews is considered to be above reproach. The meat consumed, as is well known, has, before being placed on sale, undergone a thorough inspection as to the health of the animal killed. The meat is therefore more wholesome and more fit for human consumption than that in the average non-Jewish butcher shop. As we shall see hereafter, this has some influence on the liability of the Jew to tuberculosis. Moreover, the meat consumed by the Jew is fresh. Meat more than three

days old is not kosher (ritually clean), and in order that it may be made kosher it must be carefully rinsed in clean water. Religious butchers for this reason do not keep meat for more than a day or two. The same applies to fowls, such as chickens, turkeys, etc. Those sold in Jewish shops are fresh, and come from healthy animals.

Fish is one of the most important articles in the diet of the Jew. Those who do not consume much of it must at least have fish for Friday night and for Saturday, and when fish is scarce a Jewess will pay a high price for at least one or two pounds of it for Sabbath. I am informed that the Jews consume proportionally more fish than any other race in New York.

A very important article in the Jewish diet is herring. In very poor Jewish families, when other food cannot be procured, they can live for days on bread, herring, and tea alone. Potatoes, too, are much in vogue. With the exception of horse-radish, carrots, cabbage, beets, and a few others, the Jews consume very few vegetables, although fruits of all varieties are very freely used.

Another important fact is that the Jews do not eat much — a pound of meat per diem is sufficient for a poor family of a husband, wife and a few children. While this may be partly due to the expense — kosher meat is very expensive — still it is a fact that the well-to-do eat comparatively less than non-Jews. Gluttony is considered a sin among the Russian Jews. This trait has also been retained from Russia, where the multitude of the Jews are very poor, and food, particularly meat, is expensive, because of the special tax levied on kosher meat (*takse*). Jewish women generally differ from the men in this respect. You will quite often meet a woman who likes to eat much and well. This, added to the fact that the Jewish women usually do nothing but housework after marriage, is probably the reason why obesity is more frequently met with among them than among non-Jewish women.

It is well known that alcoholism is very rare among Jews, particularly those from Russia. It is even thought by many that Jews are total abstainers. Though this may be so with a small proportion, many Jews partake more or less of alcohol in its various forms, and those who do not ordinarily drink, usually do so at least on Saturday and holidays for religious purposes (*kiddush*) and on various other occasions. One thing must be conceded — Jews only rarely

drink to intoxication; living in the Jewish quarters of New York for ten years, I have seen a Jewish "drunk" only rarely, although in my practice as a physician, I have repeatedly met with Jewish patients suffering from the effects of chronic alcoholism as cirrhosis of the liver, alcoholic gastritis, etc. One of the reasons why Jews are not seen in an intoxicated condition on the streets is because the Jew generally knows when to stop drinking, and when he is somewhat intoxicated, those near him will at once remove him to his home and will not permit him to behave boisterously on the streets. An officer of the Society Chesed Shel Emeth, which has as one of its objects to give poor people Jewish burial, informed me that among the unclaimed Jewish dead in the New York morgue he has during more than one year's service met with only one case in which alcoholism was stated to be the cause of death, and this among an average of five to six corpses weekly (including children). When we recall the fact that the unclaimed bodies in the morgue almost invariably come from the lowest classes of society, and that at least seventy-five per cent. of the Gentile unclaimed dead in the morgue are directly or indirectly caused by alcoholism, we are the more surprised at the infrequency of alcoholism among the Jews in New York. But still it can positively be stated that the vice is growing in frequency among the Jews in New York City. We occasionally meet a Jewish patient in the alcoholic ward of Bellevue Hospital. In their old home in Russia, the Jews abhor a drunkard; they name him with converts and outcasts. To have a drunkard in the family means difficulty in contracting suitable marriages for the children. The Jew knows that it does not pay to be drunk. Having lived for centuries under the ceaseless ban of abuse and persecution in the European Ghettos, he has found it advantageous to his well-being always to be sober. But here, alcoholism is increasing, particularly among the young generation, who are adapting the habits and customs of life of their gentile neighbors—their virtues as well as their vices.

The Russian Jews are generally inveterate smokers of cigarettes; only few, those who are more or less "Americanized," smoke cigars. The Russian Jews prefer cigarettes with mouth-pieces, such as they were wont to smoke in their old home. Others smoke cigarettes which they roll very dexterously with their fingers from tobacco in

cigarette paper. Pipes are not very common. Another habit of the older people is snuffing pulverized tobacco. Chewing tobacco is unknown among Russian Jews.

Tea is probably consumed by Russian Jews far more than by any other nationality living in New York. We frequently see one who drinks more than a dozen glasses of this beverage daily. In the cafés of the Ghetto one may always observe people sitting for hours and drinking tea. This habit has been acquired in Russia, where excessive tea drinking is common. One advantage of the tea drunk by the Russian Jews over that consumed by the Americans is the fact that the Russians never drink tea that has been boiled; they make of the tea an infusion with boiling water; the amount of tannin retained is thereby reduced to a minimum, and it is consequently less liable to cause indigestion, and only the volatile oil which gives the aroma is extracted.

Considering the fact that the Jews are the most nervous of people, as we shall see hereafter, it is not surprising that they consume much tea. Having their nervous system often fatigued and exhausted from worry, care and anxiety, they require some agreeable stimulant which will remove, at least temporarily, the sense of fatigue, and give a feeling of well-being. Other nations use alcohol for such purposes, but the Jews prefer tea, which in the long run, of course, overstimulates their nervous system, and a depression is the result, which requires larger doses of tea to overcome it. A vicious circle is thereby established, which by no means contributes to the health and well-being of the Russian Jew.

Coffee is used by the Jews in Russia only rarely. Here in the United States it is more frequently consumed, but not so freely as tea. Drug habits, such as the use of opium, chloral, cocaine, etc., are almost unknown among the Russian Jews.

While speaking of the evils of the New York tenement houses, the various Tenement House Commissions were always wont to point out that the mortality in the tenements is considerably higher than that of the private dwellings. They succeeded in obtaining from the vital statistics of the city figures showing that the mortality in some wards was between two and five times higher than that in the wards without, or with few, tenement houses. But on careful analysis it was discovered that the wards which enjoy the lowest mortality of the other wards in New York are most

densely populated spots in the city, overcrowded with tenements, each of which affords a dwelling place for between 200 and 400 human beings.

The wards showing the lowest mortality in Greater New York are those inhabited by the Russian Jews. The wards showing the highest death rates are inhabited chiefly by Italians, Irish, Bohemians, etc., and with none or only few Jews. "In certain blocks in the Italian quarter of the city there is a very high death rate," says the Report of the Tenement House Commission of 1900,¹ "while in certain other blocks only half a mile away, in the Jewish quarter, the death rate is only one-half as great as the average death rate of the city; yet in the latter district there was a greater population, the tenement houses were taller, and the general sanitary conditions were worse."

In fact, when we observe the comparative death rates of the Seventh, Tenth, Eleventh and Thirteenth Wards, which are chiefly inhabited by Jews,² we find that during 1899 the death rate per 1,000 population was: In the Seventh Ward 18.16; in the Tenth, 14.23; in the Eleventh, 16.78, and in the Thirteenth, 14.52; for New York City the death rate was, in the same year, 18.53 per 1,000. It will be observed that the Seventh Ward had the highest death rate of the Jewish districts, 18.16, nearly approaching that of the city. But considering that in this ward the non-Jewish, particularly the Irish population, makes up at least 35 per cent. of the total, we must conclude that the mortality of the Jews in this district is also lower than the average of the city.

When we recall that the death rate in New York City was in 1880, 26.40 per 1,000 of population, and that ever since it has been with slight fluctuations, steadily declining, we may find that, possibly, there may be some correspondence between this reduction of mortality in the city and the steady influx of Jewish immigrants. While the activity of the Board of Health towards the lowering of the death rates of the city is evident, still the thousands of Jews with their low mortality may also have contributed somewhat to this effect.

The low mortality of the immigrant Jewish population in New York City was noticed in the report compiled by Dr. John S. Billings, for the Eleventh Census of the United

¹ De Forest & Veiller, *The Tenement House Problem*, Vol. 1, p. 55.

² It is estimated that over 75 per cent. of the population in these wards are Jews—the Tenth and the Thirteenth almost exclusively, the Eleventh with at least 80 per cent., and the Seventh 65 per cent.

States.¹ According to these statistics the Russian and Polish Jews showed the lowest rates of mortality in New York during the five years ending May 31st, 1890. The highest mortality rate — 43.57, was found to be among the Bohemians; the Italians are next, with 35.29; the Irish, with 32.51, etc., while those whose mothers were born in Russia and Poland enjoyed the lowest mortality rates — only 14.85. The mortality of children was also the lowest among the Russian Jews — only 28.67 per 1,000 population, as against 82.57 among the Bohemians, 76.41 among the Italians, and so on. W. Z. Ripley,² in speaking of the longevity of the Jews, aptly illustrates it by the following example: "Suppose two groups of one hundred infants each, one Jewish, one of the average American parentage (Massachusetts), to be born on the same day. In spite of all the disparity of social conditions in favor of the latter, the chances, determined by statistical means, are that one-half of the American will die within forty-seven years; while the first half of the Jews will not succumb to disease or accident before the expiration of seventy-one years. The death rate is but little over one-half of the average American population. This holds good in infancy and in middle age."

The longevity of the Jews has always appeared paradoxical to those who have investigated the question. As we have seen above, the Jew is by external appearances the least physically developed of the European nations; in stature he is the shortest, the girth of his chest is the narrowest, he is paler and poorer in blood than most of the non-Jewish nations among whom he lives. But his longevity and resistance to disease surpasses those of his apparently stronger neighbor. The cause of this paradox is plain when we consider the Jew's history. The Jewish race has, for the last two thousand years, spread widely over the face of the earth. During all his migrations from continent to continent and from country to country, the Jew was always exposed physically and mentally to the most diversified conditions. The variety of climate, the repeated changes of habits and attempts at acclimatization have wrought great changes in his physical organization. His struggles against adverse circumstances, endeavoring to readjust his organism in adaptation to new conditions, defending himself against his mediæval persecutors who

¹ *Vital Statistics of New York City and Brooklyn*, p. 15.

² *The Races of Europe*, p. 383.

mercilessly gloated over his agonies, torturing him with a fiendish glee of hate and intolerance, have left him a physical wreck as far as external appearance is concerned. But on the other hand, these inimical conditions have also had other effects on the Jew's organization. Partly by weeding out, either by death or baptism, all those of the Jews who, by reason of physical, mental and intellectual inferiority, could not withstand the ban of poverty, abuse, and persecution, and partly by keenly sharpening the senses, and by developing the functional activity of the brains of those who were sufficiently brave, stubborn enough to remain Jews in the face of that brutal persecution, natural selection has left behind a race which is at present fully equipped with means to resist poverty, misfortune, and even death more easily than other races who have had no such struggle for their existence. Only those most resistant to the effects of disease, the healthiest who could easily adapt and acclimatize themselves to new external conditions on short notice,—in brief, only the fittest have survived. At one period of their history they had to withstand the effects of contagious diseases, all those predisposed, the weak, sickly and infirm, succumbed, and those left behind were more or less immune. This immunity was transmitted to future generations. At another period of their history, intelligence and intellect were the best weapons for the preservation of the race in the struggle against persecution, and only those who possessed the most intelligence and knowledge and the toughest, the shrewdest, who were best fitted to cope with the adverse circumstances, survived; the weakest, the most stupid and the most ignorant, went to the wall. These qualities were inherited by the succeeding generations. The final result is that the Jews at present are a picked race which can resist pain, misfortune, grief, worry, starvation, disease, and even death better than other civilized races. Those who were shiftless, immoral, lazy, incorrigible, drunkards, could not remain Jews under the mediæval persecutions. Only those who were strong, healthy, and energetic could venture to remain Jews—hence their longevity.

Of the diseases to which Jews are most liable those of the nervous system stand out most prominently. Neurasthenia and hysteria are more frequent among them than among any other race. Some physicians have even gone so far as

to state that the vast majority of the Jews are neurasthenics, and that nearly all the women are hysterical. The observations of the physicians who practice among the Russian Jews in New York sustain these contentions. Hysteria is very frequent among women, and among men is far more often met with in Jews than among any other people.

Insanity is very frequent among the Jews. It appears that it was very frequent among the ancient Hebrews. At present we find, wherever statistics on the subject are available, that the Jews suffer proportionately from two to five times more frequently from mental alienation than non-Jews. Here in New York City we meet with similar conditions. Recent statistics show that the Jews in this city supply a greater number of insane to the asylums than any other race living here.¹ The same can be observed in the asylums for idiotic and feeble-minded children of our city. It is stated on good authority that more than fifty per cent. of the inmates are of Jewish origin. Remembering that the Jews constitute less than twenty per cent. of the total population of Greater New York, we can appreciate the fearful proportion of insanity and idiocy among the Jews.

A disease of which the Jews suffer more than any other nationality is diabetes. Dr. Heinrich Stern² examined carefully the mortality from diabetes in New York City during 1899, and found that out of a total of 202 deaths due to this cause, fifty-four, *i. e.*, twenty-five per cent., occurred among the Jews. And as the Jewish population of New York City is scarcely twenty per cent. of the total population, it follows that the Jews suffer about three times more often than others from diabetes.³ Varicose veins, hemorrhoids, ruptures and some form of diseases of the nervous system are also more frequent among Jews than non-Jews.

The greater liability of the Jews to nervous diseases, particularly neurasthenia, hysteria, and diabetes is to be considered as the outcome of a long series of events in the Jews' history for the last two thousand years. It is a result of the anxiety, prolonged worry, grief, and cerebral overwork of the Jews under the ban of mediæval persecution. These diseases, as we all know, are diseases of great urban centres, and they signify that the organism of their possessor has

¹ See articles "Idiocy" and "Insanity," by the author, *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. VI.

² *Medical Record*, November 17, 1900.

³ For a more thorough discussion of the subject, see article "Diabetes," by the author, *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. V.

entered on a race of competition for which it is not adequately equipped. The Jew has been for centuries an urban resident. According to Jacobs, four-fifths of the Jewish population live in large towns.¹ The diseases of the city population are therefore accentuated in the body and mind of the Jew. Of non-Jews only one-third of the population are town-dwellers; and the case is consequently different with them. It has been shown by Mr. Cantlie, in his book, "Degeneration Amongst Londoners," that the London poor do not survive beyond three, or at most, four generations; the same has been proved to be the fate of the poor inhabitants of Paris. It is, indeed, rare to find among the poor in modern large cities families which could trace their ancestors back for five or six generations as city dwellers. The population of the cities is kept up by the constant influx of good, pure, fresh blood from the country, which counteracts the deteriorating influences of the busy, enervating city life. Dr. Otto Ammon has conclusively shown that the large majority of the town-dwellers in Baden, Germany, are either themselves immigrants from the country or else the children of immigrants. The same has been shown to be true of nearly all the other cities in Germany — nearly one-half their population is of direct country descent. One-third of the population in London is of country birth; the same is true of Paris. For thirty of the principal cities of Europe, according to Ripley, it has been calculated that only about one-half of their increase is from the loins of their own people, the overwhelming majority being of country birth. The Jews have not had this advantage of draining the pure, fresh, healthy country blood for the rejuvenation of their own, which is deteriorated by town-dwelling, and as a result we find that the evil effects of the strained, nerve-shattering city life have been deeply rooted in their bodies and minds, and this in turn has been transmitted to their offspring. With each new generation the nervous vitality of the Jewish race lessened, and as a final result, we find that most of the diseases that increase with the advance of civilization, particularly the neuroses and psychoses and also diabetes, are relatively more frequent among the Jews than among the non-Jews. "The Jew," says Leroy Beaulieu,² "is the most nervous and in so far the most modern of men. He is, by the very nature of

¹ "Anthropology," *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. I.

² *Israel Among the Nations*, p. 169.

his diseases, the forerunner of his contemporaries, preceding them on that perilous path upon which society is urged by the excesses of its intellectual and emotional life, and by the increasing spur of competition. The noisy army of psychopathies and neuropathies is gaining so many recruits among us that it will not take the Christians long to catch up with the Jews in this respect."

Consanguineous marriages, which are very frequent among the Jews, have been assigned as a most potent cause of their nervousness and also of the frequency of diabetes among them. I do not believe that this is a satisfactory explanation. Modern medical science teaches that consanguineous marriages between healthy people, *per se*, do not cause any disease or infirmity in the offspring — excepting those, of course, which are contracted between diseased people.

A very important factor in the production of the nervousness of the Jews is that they are essentially a commercial people — many prefer speculation in business pursuits to manual labor. This can be observed in New York City, where a number of Jewish laborers, after having succeeded in saving a few dollars, begin business on a small scale; they peddle or sell from push-carts, stands and small stores.

Business, particularly that done with lack of funds, involves prolonged morbid emotional excitement, such as worry, vexation, grief, and anxiety; and the importance of these as factors in brain exhaustion cannot be overestimated. The Russian Jew, again, as we have seen, is under-fed, emaciated and anæmic. The disproportion between his mental activity on the one hand, and his lack of physical development on the other, are added to the fact that he comes into this world already handicapped; the nervous vitality of his parents has also been more or less affected by the same causes and an additional very potent cause of nervous exhaustion, persecution, which has strained and shattered them physically and emotionally. All these factors taken together give us more than sufficient reason to expect nervousness among the Russian Jews.

The education of the Russian Jews in their old homes is acquired in the so-called cheder, at an early age. At four or five years a Jewish child attends school, and studies ardently the Hebrew language. Between seven and ten years he studies the Bible, and in instances the Talmud. The Jewish schools in Russia, the chedarim, are anything but

conducive to the healthy functional development of the young children's nervous system and bodily activity.

If we bear in mind further that systematic exercises, such as billiards, golf, tennis, hunting, gymnastics are not in vogue at all among immigrant Jews, we have the picture complete — the restless, overworked and exhausted nervous system gets no recreation, and breaks down under the slightest provocation.

Suicide has been observed to be infrequent among the Jews in Eastern Europe, but in New York City it appears to be growing among them. We have no exact statistics as to its proportion, but the fact is, we hear of Jewish suicides quite often. Here again we see the effects of modern civilization on the Jew.¹

By immunity is understood the resistance of the tissues of the system to the development of infectious diseases. It has only a relative meaning, because there is no absolute immunity. When we say that a race is immune to a certain disease, as the negro is, for instance, to yellow fever, we do not mean to convey the idea that the negro never suffers from that disease, but that he is affected less frequently than the white races are, or only rarely. Using the term immunity in this sense, I can positively state that the Jews in New York are relatively immune to most of the infectious diseases. I make this statement with the full knowledge that most of those who have not made a special study of the mortality from contagious diseases in New York have always entertained a decidedly contrary opinion. But I think that a careful analysis of the statistics given below, will convince all skeptics as to the truth of the assertion.

As we have seen above, there are four wards in New York City which are chiefly inhabited by Jews — namely the Seventh, Tenth, Eleventh and Thirteenth. At least 75 per cent. of the people living in these wards are Jews. By computing the mortality from infectious diseases in these wards as they are recorded in the annual reports of the Board of Health, we can easily see if the Jews have a lower

¹ It is worthy of notice that the same phenomenon has been observed among the Jews in Western Europe: About fifty years ago it was very rare to meet a Jewish suicide. At present the number of Jews who commit suicide has increased to an alarming extent. Thus the latest statistics for Prussia show that self destruction is more frequent among the Jews than among the Christians; from 1893 to 1897 there occurred among the Christians 31.17 male and 8.02 female suicides per 100,000 population. Among the Jews the proportion was 36.50 male and 11.89 females per 100,000. (Arthur Rupin, *Die Socialen Verhaeltnisse der Juden in Preussen und Deutschland*. Berlin, 1902).

mortality from these diseases. An analysis of these figures shows that diphtheria and croup killed in New York during 1897, 1898 and 1899, 64.20 per 100,000 population, and of Jews in the four wards referred to only 59.55. Scarlet fever and measles appear to have been the exceptions, the former being for the city only 24.17 and for the Jews 34.14 per 100,000, the latter showing 21.69 and 21.15 respectively. In Dr. Billings' report on Vital Statistics of New York City and Brooklyn, published by the Eleventh Census of the United States, there is given the mortality from certain diseases of the various races and nationalities confirming these figures. I have assumed the figures in this report which refer to Russians as applying to Russian Jews, as these are the greater part classified under the nationality in these cities.

Diarrhœal diseases are also less fatal among the Jews. Every year we hear that when philanthropists are clamoring about the great mortality of children from diarrhœal diseases during the summer months, they point to the congested tenement districts inhabited by the Jews as being the stronghold of the scourge. If they had studied the question more closely, they would have ascertained that the Jews in the Seventh, Tenth, Eleventh and Thirteenth Wards have a lower mortality from this disease than any other nationality — the average annual mortality in New York City during 1897, 1898 and 1899 was 125.54 per 100,000 population. Among the Jews in the four wards mentioned only 106.79. For the six years ending May 31st, 1890, the mortality for New York from diarrhœal diseases was 316.85; among the Bohemians, 766.73; Italians, 425.58; United States, white, 398.34, and among the Russian and Polish Jews only 195.55. The same is true of typhoid fever. It is proportionately less frequent in the East than in the West Side of the city.

The mortality from diseases of the nervous system among the Russian Jews of New York during six years ending May 31st, 1890, as given in the Eleventh Census was 117.68, as against 336.76 among the Bohemians, 293.48 white Americans, 242.44 Irish, and so on.¹ This is contrary to the opinion of many demographers who consider the Jews the greatest sufferers from nervous diseases. But if we bear in mind the fact brought out by the author while speaking of the nervousness of the Jews that "only the functional nerv-

¹ Billings, *Vital Statistics of New York City and Brooklyn*, p. 41.

ous diseases, as hysteria and neurasthenia, are more prevalent among the Jews, while the organic degenerative nervous diseases are even less frequently met with among them," we are not surprised at the low mortality from this cause among the Jews of Russia and Poland in New York.

Of the venereal diseases, such as syphilis, the Jews appear to suffer less frequently than other races. Many writers in Russia have recorded statistics to that effect. We have no exact statistics about the prevalence of syphilis and gonorrhea among the Jews in New York, but the testimony of physicians practicing among them shows that while among the Jews syphilis is often met with, it is not so frequently encountered as among non-Jews. Gonorrhea seems at present to be very much on the increase among the Jews in the East Side of New York, which again shows the effects of their sojourn in our metropolis.

The most important disease to which the Jews show a relative immunity is tuberculosis, or, as it is commonly known, consumption. The author of this article has shown this to be a fact among the immigrant Jewish population in New York City in his paper on the "Relative Infrequency of Tuberculosis Among Jews," to which the reader is referred for details.¹ One fact we desire to emphasize here, namely that consumption is very much on the increase among our population on the East Side, particularly among the poorer classes of the Jews living in New York City. Dr. Lee K. Frankel, manager of the United Hebrew Charities, has shown that, while in 1895 the ratio of consumptive applicants for relief was 2 per cent., in 1899 it reached 3 per cent.; *i. e.*, that is, an increase of 50 per cent. in four years, which is appalling. Dr. Frankel also shows that consumption as it exists among the Jews in New York is almost wholly confined to the lower classes, the poorer element of the Jewish population, and that the foreigners who suffer from this disease have contracted it after their arrival in the United States. He bases his deduction on an examination of 10,000 death certificates in the New York City Board of Health, beginning with January 1st, 1900. In 888 of these the cause of death was stated to be tuberculosis; 72 of these were Jews. If we recall the fact that the Jewish population of New York City is estimated to be at least 15 per cent. of the total

¹ *American Medicine*, November 2, 1901. See, also, article "Consumption," *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. IV.

population, we may from Dr. Frankel's figures, also find that if consumption was as prevalent among the Jews as among the general population, the number of deaths due to this cause should have been 133. As it is, only 72 were recorded, a little over one-half that of the population of the city. We also find from Dr. Frankel's figures that of the 72 Jews who died of consumption, 39 died in tenement houses, 23 in institutions and only 1 in a private house. This tends to show that those Jews who are socially and economically on a higher plane, are even less liable to consumption than the unfortunate poor who are huddled together in congested tenements, in poverty and in want, exposed to infection to the highest degree. It can be positively stated that in case the conditions of over-crowding and misery among the immigrant Jewish population on the East Side shall keep on as they are at present, the Jews living here will in the near future show a yet greater mortality from the "white plague" than the Irish and Italians do at present.

The low mortality of the New York Jews from the contagious diseases is the more remarkable when we bear in mind that everything that is conducive to the spread of infection is at hand in the East Side — poverty, overwork, ill-ventilated sweat-shops, overcrowding in the tenements, lack of fresh air and sunshine — in fact, the New York Ghetto is considered the most densely populated spot on earth. When we remember that, in spite of all these adverse conditions, the Jews show a lower mortality from contagious diseases, we are forced to conclude that they do possess some relative immunity or a greater power of resistance to the noxious effects of contagious diseases.

The causes of this relative immunity of the Jews are to be sought in their past history, their religious customs and habits of life; to their devotion as husbands, as wives, as parents and as children. Although the nervous system of the Jews is more or less shattered as a result of the ceaseless persecution, abuse and oppression they have undergone for centuries, still the organic nervous diseases are infrequent among them — the reason for this is plainly evident — and alcohol and syphilis are also infrequent. We know that any poison that depresses the vitality of the system, as alcoholism and syphilis, predisposes infection by pathogenic micro-organisms. Pneumonia, consumption and many other fatal diseases have alcoholism as a remote

cause of their origin. The Jews, not being addicted to alcoholism, are consequently less frequently affected by these diseases. Another important point is the fact that the prognosis of most of the infectious diseases depends on the patients' antecedents. A mild attack of disease in an alcoholic is more liable to kill than a severe case in a temperate man. The vitality of the offspring also depends very much on the presence or absence of alcoholism and syphilis in the parents. Children begotten of parents suffering from these virulent poisons are easy prey to the infectious diseases. The Jewish children show a lower mortality, because their parents bestow on them a vitality untainted by alcoholism and syphilis, and they can therefore more easily resist the effects of contagious diseases. Jewish parents are also more devoted to their children than others, their anxiety in case of slight illness is greater than that of poor people of other races, and they seek medical assistance far more frequently. Added to this fact, that Jewish women do not after marriage work in factories as frequently as poor women of other nationalities and have more time to attend to their children, and we have all the factors that reduce the mortality, particularly of infants.

The lesser mortality of the Jews from consumption is explained by the above factors, and an additional very important religious rite — the inspection of carcasses in the slaughter-house as to the health of the cattle. The Jew is prohibited from consuming meat coming from diseased cattle, particularly such which have suffered from diseases of the lungs and pleura. We know that a great proportion of the tuberculosis has its origin in the consumption of meat coming from tubercular cattle. In the case of the Jews the chances of infection from this source are reduced to a minimum.

To the cleanliness of the Jewish home from the moral and sanitary point of view we must ascribe most of the health, longevity, and immunities of the Jews. When the Jew assimilates with his non-Jewish neighbors, adopting their modes of life and habits, he gradually loses his immunity and his longevity, and in time does not differ as to health and sanitation from the people among whom he happens to live.

It is agreed that the immigration of sober, healthy, and industrious people to the United States is desirable, and in view of all the facts we have collected, the Russian Jew is

as desirable as any other class of foreigners and better than many. We all know that notwithstanding the fact that the Russian Jew comes from a country where typhus and smallpox are endemic and cholera quite often rages epidemically, he has never brought these diseases with him; even during 1891-1894, when cholera was raging in Russia, the numerous Jewish immigrants did not import the disease to the United States.

The fact that they are not addicted to alcoholism is also one of the most important qualities that make the Russian Jew a desirable immigrant. Those few insanitary habits which he acquired in Russia the Jew does his best to forget after living a longer time in the United States. And as his children attend public school almost invariably, we are convinced that the generation which will succeed the Russian Jews of to-day will prove to be good Americans morally, physically, and intellectually.

(B) PHILADELPHIA

It is well recognized that housing conditions in Philadelphia are different from those in other large cities, and that whatever the evils, we do not have to contend with the evils of the tenement. However, it will not do for Philadelphians to gloat over the fortunate situation which has enabled so many working-men of the city to live in their own little homes, sometimes under their own "vine and fig-tree," for we, too, have evils which call for remedy; we have allowed congestion among our foreign populations; we have permitted bad housing to grow up; we have failed to make and to enforce regulations which prevent sickness and disease and contagion; and, through negligence, the City of Philadelphia has problems which it should have coped with ere they rose to large dimensions.

A little study of housing conditions in the southeastern section of the city was made in the spring of 1902 under the auspices of the Octavia Hill Association. The writer had the pleasure of taking part in the investigation, the entire results of which were placed at his disposal.

The five wards of the district to which attention was given, the Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth and Seventh, contain about one-eighth of the population of the city and cover about one-fiftieth of the area. The average density of the most thickly populated ward, the Third, is 209 persons per acre.¹ The average density for the entire city is 14 persons to the acre. It is therefore evident that we are dealing with a congested portion of the city.

I shall take up the figures of the Jewish block, among the three examined in the investigation referred to, the other two being Italian and negro blocks respectively,—so denominated because the greater part of the inhabitants are of the particular class. In the Jewish block, Third to Fourth Street, South to Bainbridge Street, I have noted 75 houses occupied by Jews; 9 on Third Street, 13 on

¹ *Annals of the Academy of Political and Social Science*, July, 1902, p. 111.

Fourth Street, 13 on South Street, 23 on Kater Street, 3 on Orianna Street, and 14 on Bainbridge Street. This is, in many respects, a good illustrative block for our purpose, representing as it does several elements, from the economic standpoint. On South Street, there are stores where all sorts of goods may be purchased; it is a regular retail street. Third and Fourth Streets are likewise occupied by shop-keepers. Bainbridge Street contains old clothes and second-hand shops. In the upper stories of these buildings, those portions not occupied by the store-keeper are rented to tenants, whose occupations are tailoring, peddling and the like. The residents of the smaller streets, Orianna and Kater, and the upper floors of the buildings of the main streets are a poorer class than the merchants of South Street and the shop-keepers of Third and Fourth Streets.

Let us take up for examination one of the small streets of the block and ascertain the condition with reference to housing. On Kater Street we have a record of 23 houses with Jewish families. There were among them 9 tailors, 3 peddlers, 1 huckster, 1 shirtmaker, 1 paper-hanger. This is sufficient to give some idea of the economic position of the inhabitants. The average rental per house was \$15.04 per month. This is equal to \$8.06 for each family, as there were 40 families in the 23 houses. There are thus an average of $1\frac{3}{4}$ families to the house. The total number of persons in these houses was 299 — 197 adults and 102 children (under 14 years of age). This is an average of about 5 to a family, and 8.65 persons to a house. The houses average three stories each, or 5.83 rooms each, there being altogether 134 rooms. The result is that there were 1.48 persons to each room, a condition of crowding not only from a Philadelphia point of view, but from that of congestion generally. It is a larger number than was found in an investigation in three similar districts in Chicago, where the average was 1.28. It must be admitted, however, that a comparison based on the number of persons to a dwelling does not show a bad state of affairs for this population contrasted with the average of the population in some of the large cities. In Philadelphia the number of persons in 1900, according to the Twelfth United States Census, was 5.4. In Baltimore the average number was 5.7, in St. Louis 7, in Boston 8.4, in Chicago 8.8, in Brooklyn 10.2, in the boroughs of Manhattan and Bronx (of Greater New

York) 20.4. But we are justified in making comparison with congested sections, for our purpose.¹

Of course, to make the comparison absolutely accurate as a basis for sanitary and health conditions we should have to take into consideration the number of cubic feet in the rooms, the surroundings of each, and the like, but it is sufficient here to bring out the fact that a state of crowding exists.

Belonging to the 23 houses on Kater Street there were 22 water closets and 5 privies. This is an average of 1.17 to a house, or .67 to a family, or, to put the fact in another way, 7 adults and children had the use of one water-closet or privy.

The total number of bath-tubs in these 23 houses was 2, of which one is used only in the summer time.

Twelve of the 23 houses had as their sole water accommodation one hydrant each, in the yard. Three additional houses had a total of one hydrant for common use. Two others had one hydrant in common. Thus there is a total of 14 hydrants for 17 houses occupied by 20 families composed of 102 persons, an average of more than 7 persons (adults and children) to one hydrant for washing clothes and persons. The other 20 families had altogether 20 faucets.

These statements show housing conditions in a poor street, merely from the standpoint of the barest and most ordinary health and sanitary accommodation.

When one considers that comfortable houses with good accommodations can be found in other sections of the city at \$15 per month, it is a fair inference that the landlord profits by a condition of affairs which permits bad housing; that, in any event, the tenant does not obtain a good return for his rental as compared with other sections.

Now, taking in the entire block, as regards the 75 houses containing Jewish residents, we find that the total number of persons was 688 — 372 adults and 316 children. These represent 142 families. As there were 496 rooms in these houses, the average number of rooms per house was 6.6. The average number of persons to the room was 1.39, a condition of crowding above that quoted for Chicago.² As the total number of families in these 75 houses was 142,

¹ *Tenement Conditions in Chicago*, p. 64. Of the three Chicago districts one is composed of Italian and Jewish residents and the average in this was 1.26 persons per room.

² *Tenement Conditions in Chicago*, p. 64.

the average of families to the house was 1.9, and as the total number of persons was 688, the average was 9.17 persons to the house. This is considerably more than the average for the city at large (which is but 5.4 persons to the house). It is also more than the average in the three districts in Philadelphia which were studied. Their average was 7.55. The average for the Italian block was 9.88 and for the negro 5.73. It will be seen that the crowding in the Italian block is the greatest.

In this block in the 75 houses there were 86 water closets and 22 privies, making a total of 108, an average of 1.46 to a house, or 1.31 to a family, that is, 6.4 had the use of one water closet or privy. As to quality, some of these closets and privies are reported as being in bad condition, which may mean not kept cleanly, insufficient flush of water, so arranged as not to allow of the exhalation of gaseous odors, and the like. Though something may in instances be due to the carelessness of tenants, many faults which affect the permanent health of the community are due to the landlords in not providing adequate and approved appliances.

There were in the 75 houses altogether 8 bath tubs, of which 3 were used only in the summer. This is an average of about 86 persons to a tub.

Such a condition, on its face, bespeaks a failure to appreciate the value of the bath. It should be understood, however, that the public bath is often patronized in the absence of a home bath. There are five private bathing establishments down-town conducted by Jews and patronized almost entirely by the Jewish population of this section. They have the ordinary bath and the Russian or sweat-bath — somewhat similar in principle to the Turkish bath. The superintendent of the Public Baths Association at Gaskill Street above Fourth, informs me that about 40 per cent. of the establishment there are Jews. Then, too, the public baths of the city are patronized to a considerable extent.

It appears, therefore, that there is more use of bathing facilities than the absence of bath tubs in the houses indicates. At the same time, it seems that the population needs considerable education in the use of water for the body. The habits of Russia and cold climates, where there was less need for the bath, must be adapted to the at times heated atmosphere of America and to the modern notions of frequent bathing of the body as a measure of health. A

similar absence of baths is found in the houses of other foreign born and of the negroes in this section of the city, but it is regrettable to have to institute the comparison because along other lines the Jew's education and point of view are so far advanced over those of other nationalities.¹

Somewhat similar results to those above narrated were obtained with reference to a block further south. The study referred to was made by a resident of the College Settlement, Miss Edith Jones. The study embraced Carpenter, Christian, Fourth and Fifth Streets, and the north side of Christian Street between Fourth and Fifth. The investigator noted the following: "One observation as regards nationality needs to be recorded. An Irish family, unless hopelessly untidy, is thoroughly clean, not only inside but outside the house and all its surroundings. . . . On the other hand, the majority of the Jewish homes are clean inside, but stairways, closets, yards, etc., which must be used in common by several families, are scarcely cared for at all. . . . They seem unable to act together or to form any agreement for division of common duties."

In an uptown district an investigation into housing conditions was made in 1904 by Miss Emily W. Dinwiddie for the Octavia Hill Association.² I visited a number of the houses with her. The district contained 35 houses on North American Street, 30 on New Market Street, and 8 on Wood Street, making 73 in which the inhabitants were predominantly Jews out of a total of 179 houses investigated. The number of Jewish families in these 73 houses was 100, an average of 1.45 families to a house. The total number of Jewish persons was found to be 606, of which 341 were over fourteen years of age and 265 under that age. The number of rooms occupied by the Jewish families was 3.72, making an average of 1.66 persons to a room. The number per house was 8.36.

The number of water-closets was 32 and of privies 42, making a total of 74 toilets, an average of one to a house, or of one to 8.19 persons each. There were 122 faucets (usually the only one for a house being connected with a hydrant in the yard) an average of 1.67 per house, or 1.22 per family. The number of baths (whose faucets were included in the total) was 5. That is, there was an average of 121 persons to a tub.

¹ See *Tenement Conditions in Chicago*, p. 108.

² *Housing Conditions in Philadelphia*.

The rentals of the Jewish families may be judged by those for the district generally. Families occupying one house paid \$8.78 monthly, or \$2.32 per room. In houses for more than one family the average was \$5.18 per apartment and \$2.40 per room.

The occupations of the heads of the 100 Jewish families were as follows: Baker 4, blacksmith and iron worker 3, button-maker 1, buttonhole-maker 1, carpenter and cabinet-maker 4, cigar-maker 4, cobbler and shoemaker 4, cooper 1, driver and expressman 4, fruit huckster and fruit-stand dealer 9, glazier 1, hatmaker 3, horse dealer 1, Jewish teacher 2, junk dealer 1, laborer 1, laundryman 2, leather worker 3, masseur 1, nurse 1, operator on clothing 5, optician 1, picture framer 1, polisher 1, presser 3, safemaker 1, salesman 1, shirtmaker 4, shopkeeper 10, tailor 10, ticket collector 1, tin-smith 3, trunkmaker 1, unskilled employee in factory 7.

In the houses referred to we have illustrations largely of poor conditions and ill-kept surroundings. It is doubtless true that in the matter of housing, so far as can be presented by average statistics, no highly flattering results are to be adduced with reference to a number of sections in the down-town portion of the city. The results, to be sure, show standards on the whole not deficient as compared with surrounding populations of foreign immigrants and would in many respects be on a par with American families of the same economic status.

If we now proceed more generally we shall find that among the immigrant Jewish population, with economic strides there have been made vast social strides. A number have moved into what are regarded as more respectable streets, where the surrounding conditions are more attractive, the houses better built and modernized, with advantages of good plumbing, ample water accommodation, well ventilated rooms and the like; and they have been furnished in a becoming manner. So that when one steps into one of these homes of the Russian, Roumanian or Hungarian Jew of better grade and should have any preconceived notions as to dirty, ill-smelling apartments in the "slums," he will be quickly disillusioned, and will find a superior state of affairs. He will see in the family a social attractiveness, an intellectual interest, and an enthusiastic whole-souledness that may at times take him aback, and he may be compelled to admit that the family has even some points of superiority over many of his acquaintances who

do not live in the "slums" and who pretend to be in an "advanced" state of mind. And the description does not necessarily apply to families which have progressed to a fair state of comfort. It has equal application to large numbers of persons of modest income who keep their homes tidily, who live in small streets in small houses, but who nevertheless maintain an appearance superior to that of their neighbors. I know a number of such, but cannot bring out their existence in a statistical statement covering any particular block, for they are in scattered groups.

When, therefore, we cast up the account of the immigrant Jew on the score of cleanliness we must take into consideration these families, for they give tone, dignity and worth to the population, and nowhere can be found an immigrant class which shows the advanced state which these show.

In all my wanderings in the southern section of the city I have rarely seen a drunken Jewish man. My experiences with reference to other nationalities of all sorts, including native Americans, would place the immigrant Jewish population at the head of the list of the non-drunken portion of the community. The temperateness of the Jewish population and of the Russian Jewish population in particular is so patent a fact, even to the ordinary observer, that there is hardly any necessity for dwelling on the subject. But it must be taken into consideration to the credit of this element whenever detractors may bring charges against it, for a people that will preserve itself against the evils of drink is entitled to be regarded as in a most progressive state of civilization and to be counted as in so far a desirable factor in the community. Those who see the evil moral and economic consequences of drunkenness among other portions of the community cannot gainsay this.

Russian tea may be said to be a national beverage. It is quite common to observe this drunk in the homes, the societies, and the cafés of the Russian Jewish population.

There is a very prevalent habit of cigarette smoking. With the college young man the cigarette habit sometimes gives way to that of the pipe. With the prosperous business man the cigarette is likewise replaced by the cigar. But, as a rule, the cigarette may be said to be the prevailing means of inhaling tobacco among the Russian Jewish population. In his hours of relaxation, therefore, we may

think of the Russian Jew with his Russian tea and his cigarette.

Let us now take up the subject of health and disease among this population.

"Slums Free of Disease" was the heading of an account in one of the Philadelphia newspapers in the summer of 1903. The article stated: "The fact that not a single case of smallpox has existed in that section of the city known as the 'slums' during the present spread of the disease and the consequent absence of the vaccinating corps in that locality was thus explained by an official of the Bureau of Health to-day: 'In every foreign country, with the exception of England, compulsory vaccination is in force,' he said. 'Those who might have escaped the vigilance of the physicians or who hail from England are inspected before they are permitted to land in this country, and if they have not been successfully vaccinated they must submit to the operation, or go back.

"Then, again, their children are not allowed to enter the public schools until they have been vaccinated, so you can readily see that the people in the slum district are the best vaccinated in this city.'"

Whether this is the whole explanation or not, I do not know, so far as concerns the various elements of the population, but it will be noted further on that in regard to the Jewish element, there is a special reason in the wide-spread belief in, and practice of, vaccination.

Not only was there comparatively less spread of smallpox in the lower wards of the city, but also diphtheria, scarlet fever and typhoid, of which diseases epidemics raged in portions of the other parts of the city. No deduction can be made in regard to this in behalf of the Jews in the down-town wards of the city, except that they shared with their neighbors the absence of epidemic in these diseases.

I have availed myself of some observations in regard to phases of the subject under discussion, which have been made by two Philadelphia physicians.

The following in regard to diseases among the immigrant Jewish population, with special reference to conditions in Philadelphia, is by Dr. David Riesman, and was presented as a discussion on a paper on "Health Problems of the Jewish Poor," read by Dr. Maurice Fishberg,

of New York, at the Jewish Chautauqua Summer Assembly in Atlantic City, N. J., July, 1903:

The problems that present themselves to those engaged in an effort to ameliorate the condition of the Jewish poor may, from the medical standpoint, be stated as follows: (1) What diseases afflict the Jewish poor? (2) Why do those diseases afflict them? (3) How can these diseases be prevented?

The Jewish poor are, of course, subject to the same maladies as is the general community in which they live. Scarlet fever, diphtheria, measles, influenza, whooping cough, pneumonia and typhoid fever prevail among them, according to season and epidemic influences. With regard to the first two, scarlet fever and diphtheria, the records of the Municipal Hospital of Philadelphia, as my friend, Dr. Jay F. Schamberg, informs me, show the admission of a far larger number of Jewish children than is warranted by the ratio of these to the general population. I was indeed startled to learn that not less than 25 per cent. of the cases of scarlet fever had occurred in children of Russo-Jewish parentage. In the case of diphtheria the figures are lower, but none the less striking. It is highly improbable, however, that the terrible frequency of these two affections in the children of the Jewish poor indicates any racial tendency; it is much more likely to be due to living in crowded quarters, several families usually being huddled together in one house.

Smallpox, it seems, does not so often attack the Jews as it does their Gentile neighbors. Among 2,700 cases of that disease received into the Municipal Hospital within the last two years, there was only one Jewish patient. This remarkable immunity is unquestionably due to the fact that the Jews have an abiding and most laudable faith in the efficacy of vaccination as a preventive of smallpox. An unvaccinated Jewish adult is a great rarity.

The multitude of diseases due to alcoholic excess, also, are rarely met with among the Jewish poor; for intemperance in drink is not common with them. If, however, I might judge from my own limited experience, I should say that there is a growing fondness for alcohol in the Jewish population; and that this may in time need to be combated.

In addition to scarlet fever and diphtheria, there are yet other diseases to which the Jewish poor seem more prone

than their fellow races. With regard to some of these it is not possible to give figures; and the belief in a racial predisposition rests upon impressions rather than upon statistics. Thus, disorders of the blood — anæmia and purpuric (hemorrhagic) conditions — appear to be more prevalent among the Jews. The reason for this is, primarily, the deleterious effects of poverty and overcrowding; and also the insufficient use of green vegetables and wholesome food in general, and probably the early maturing of the sexes.

Diseases of the stomach are extremely common among the Jews, particularly among the Jewish poor — more common than they are in other races of this dyspeptic country. The cause of this is not intemperance in eating, which plays such an important part in producing stomach trouble among the general American population; for the Russian Jews are quantitatively frugal. Hasty eating, however, poor food — or, rather food unsuited to this climate, tea drinking, and perhaps undue indulgence in soda water and kindred beverages, — all these serve to produce gastric disorders. The confinement occasioned by the chief occupations of the Jewish poor is also a factor, as it is a factor in the majority of diseases afflicting them.

Morbid conditions of the blood vessels are likewise more common among them than they should be and than they need be. Arterial diseases, such as hardening of the arteries, occur especially in the men, and are in large measure due to the abuse of tobacco begun early in life. This and other excesses that I need not specify are also responsible for the frequency of palpitation of the heart.

Erysipelas is, I believe, a trifle more common among the Jewish poor than among the Gentiles (though I have no extensive data with which to substantiate the correctness of this view). At the Philadelphia Hospital, among sixty Russian Jews admitted during the two years from July, 1901, to July, 1903, there were six cases of erysipelas, or 10 per cent., a percentage far larger than that in non-Jews, which was only 4.2. (There were, for instance, twice as many cases of erysipelas as of rheumatism among the Jews admitted.)

Dr. Fishberg has most admirably discussed the prevalence of tuberculosis among the Jewish poor; and my friend, Dr. S. Solis-Cohen, did much on a former occasion to bring this important matter before the public. They

have covered the subject so fully that I can add nothing to what they said.

Of the frequency of diabetes, to which the poor Jews are probably not quite so prone as their wealthy co-religionists, I need not speak. We know, at present, too little about the causes of the disease to make preventive measures possible.

The exceeding prevalence of nervous affection among the Jews is recognized as an axiom in medicine. Nearly all writers upon nervous diseases, including insanity and idiocy, refer to the fact and try to find reasons for it. The chief cause, it seems to me, is heredity in the larger sense — a racial predisposition transmitted through generations. For this hereditary taint, the grinding intensity of the struggle for existence to which the Jews of Central and Eastern Europe have for ages been subjected is responsible. I need not describe the deplorable and pitiable conditions in Russia, whence the majority of our poor Jews come. "In all Europe," says Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, "there is no people poorer, none that is compelled to earn its bread under greater difficulties than are nine-tenths of the Russian Jews;" and the noted Zionist, Dr. Mandelstamm, says, with grim humor, that there is no people on which experiments in starvation and in the results of insufficient light and air may be made with more ease than on the Ghetto Jews.

These down-trodden Jews come, therefore, to this country with a high-strung, unstable, nervous system, which the conditions of American life are not likely to improve in the first, or even in the second, generation. Our mode of living is in itself productive of various nervous disorders. Nervous prostration (or, as it is called, neurasthenia) had been discovered in this country by the famous New York physician, Beard, and Dr. S. Weir Mitchell had devised his renowned rest-cure treatment for nervous disease, long before the Russian hegira had begun.

Some authorities, such as Professors Erb and Kraepelin, of Heidelberg, and the late Krafft-Ebing, have maintained that in-breeding is, among the Jews, a factor in producing hereditary weakness of the nervous system; but Dr. Martin Engländer, of Vienna, denies this, holding that from eight to ten millions of people are sufficient to preserve a healthy race. He points to the Americans — a race produced by the very opposite of in-breeding, and yet one among which neurasthenia is widely prevalent. Among the

older stocks of Jews in this country, the Portuguese and the Germans, there has necessarily been some in-breeding, but apparently without harmful effect. The contrary, rather, is the case; the race has been improved physically. This improvement is noticeable in greater stature and in the development of a generally finer type of men and women.

Neurasthenia is most common among the Jews, but hysteria and insanity and idiocy are likewise frequent. The neurasthenic Russian Hebrew is an interesting type, and was aptly compared by Charcot to the Wandering Jew. In an entertaining monograph, Henry Meige, one of Charcot's pupils, traces the legend of the Juif-Errant, and compares it with the actual conditions seen in the migratory, restless Jews of Eastern origin. From the farthest corners of Europe, undismayed by the bitterest hardships imposed by poverty, they find their begging way to La Salpêtrière at Paris. After a few visits to the famous clinic, they vanish as noiselessly as they come, wander back to their far-off home and by singing the praises of the great French specialists, induce others to undertake the wearisome journey.

How can we prevent the spread of nervous affections among the Jews? How can we eradicate the sinister taint? Dr. Fishberg has indicated the direction in which the answer lies. We must improve economic conditions.

There must be less over-crowding, shorter hours of work, and rational recreation. If we cannot keep the Jewish immigrants from settling in the large cities, we must disperse them there. There is a tendency to spontaneous dispersion in Philadelphia. Gradually the Russian Jews are migrating northward and southward from the central Ghetto, but it will take decades before they are sufficiently scattered to make the hygienic and moral surroundings what they should be.

The Jewish poor must be taught that the new climatic conditions require the adopting of another sort of food. They must be instructed in the harmfulness of the abuse of tobacco.

I should also like to see them cultivate the manly sports — baseball, football, rowing, swimming — which do much to develop the body and to imbue the mind with a spirit of self-respecting, fearless manhood.

Tuberculosis, that other great scourge, can best be com-

bated by education, under the ægis, as Dr. Fishberg has properly said, of charitable organizations assisted by medical advisers. Out-door life and participation in the national sports will help to develop the chest, which is decidedly smaller in proportion to height than that of non-Jews. The dissemination of knowledge regarding the communicability and the prevention of tuberculosis that has been undertaken with such good results, first by Dr. Biggs, of the New York Board of Health, and now by the authorities in Philadelphia, Cleveland, and other cities, will do much to lessen the frequency of the dreaded disease. Establishing sanatoria near large cities will also prove of great benefit, as it will render possible an earlier treatment of the disease; and this is essential if a cure is to be effected.

With all his proverbial tenacity of character, the Jew, especially the Eastern Jew, is physically and psychically extremely plastic, and only needs a reasonably favorable environment to develop into a noble specimen of man. His energy, intelligence and integrity will solve many of the perplexing economic problems, and in that way the sanitary and hygienic questions will in part, at least, be answered.

On the subject of consumption, the following is taken from the discussion of Dr. Solomon Solis-Cohen on Dr. Fishberg's paper upon the same occasion as Dr. Riesman's discussion:

The knowledge of how to prevent consumption is neither absent nor new. It is old and thoroughly recognized, but it is not acted upon. Liability to the infection of consumption comes from lack of food, from overwork, from over-anxiety, from lack of fresh air, from lack of sunshine, from lack of cleanliness. The infective agent thrives in dampness, darkness and filth—dies in cleanliness, sunshine and fresh air. You cannot shut people up, six or nine in a room hardly big enough for one, and too damp, dark and dirty for any,—you cannot have them work indoors under factory, tenement and sweatshop conditions, sixteen hours a day for starvation wages, and expect racial resistance to tuberculosis or religious dietary laws to save them. It is an utter impossibility. Some years ago Dr. Riesman and I went over the records of our dispensary service at the Philadelphia Polyclinic to see approximately how large a proportion the number of consumptive Jews bore to the number of consumptives of other social groups

who came to the same clinic. We found that a very large proportion — I think something like 12 per cent. of the poor Russian Jews of Philadelphia who applied to that dispensary, were consumptive; but we also found that the proportion of the consumptives among these poor Jews was less by one-third or more than that among the poor people of other races who came to the same dispensary. In other words, the racial immunity apparently saved some poor Jews, but evidently did not save all. Sweeping conclusions cannot be drawn from the experience of one physician, no matter how great that experience may be; for after all, any one person has but a very limited experience compared with that of the profession at large. Yet in so far as I may draw guarded conclusions from my own experience, it would appear that consumption is largely on the increase among the poor Russian Jews of Philadelphia; that the relative immunity to-day is less than it was at the time Dr. Riesman and I made the investigations referred to, for my Gratz College lecture. I see proportionally more Jewish consumptives than I used to see, and after making all necessary corrections for personal factors, that means that the stress and storm of the struggle for existence are bearing more hardly upon them, that they are more narrowly crowded, more poorly fed, more excessively overworked, in a more deplorable economic condition. This is so, notwithstanding the obvious fact that many among those who have come to Philadelphia from Russia, during the past twenty years, have left the ranks of the poor and comparatively poor, and entered into those of the well-to-do and the comparatively wealthy. The large increase in immigration and the natural increase among those who remain very poor, continue to keep up this disproportion.

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Among the many injustices of Russian despotism is her cruel discrimination against Karaites, Stundists, Finlanders, and Jews. Crowded as millions of the latter are into the comparatively small southwestern portion of Russia they cannot live under conditions as favorable as they might were they permitted to settle in the interior where space is less valuable than it is on the frontiers.

It is very difficult for one who has not visited the country to get a true conception of the surroundings of the Jew in "White Russia" or "The Pale." Writers like Leo Errera and Harold Frederic have given us interesting literature on this subject, but they have been so touched by the intolerance of Russian Christianity (?) that through their sympathetic minds we can see only the picture of a great Inferno.

The Russian immigrant in America tells a somewhat different tale from theirs. We must, however, remember that his native love of home and the fatherland lends a rosy coloring to all his memories of far-away *Russland*. He really loves his country and hates only the government restrictions against him. He will tell you that the microbe-holding, smell-emitting air-shaft of our modern tenement is unknown in Russia. The tenements are rarely over three stories high, and each is provided with a court-yard where the children may play free from the dangers and temptations of the streets.

American sanitary plumbing is the finest in the world. But about three-quarters of our population are permitted to live in homes unprovided with this new preventive of disease; so we are really in this matter not very far ahead of Russia. Laws for the prevention of contagious diseases in America are more rigid and more carefully enforced than are those of Russia, which may partly account for our smaller child mortality.

The death rate among non-Jews in Russia is larger than that of the Jewish population. This is due, above all, to

the temperance of the Jew, who rarely drinks the intoxicating vodka, and lives according to the Mosaic law. Although orthodox Judaism is not so strong as it was a generation ago, yet as habit is powerful there still exists a strict adherence to the customs of the Mosaic code. Early marriages are still the rule and home life throws its safeguards about the health and life of the individual.

In Chicago there are Russian Jews of every class, from the semi-millionaire to the day laborer, from the oriental-looking Jew whose education is purely Talmudical to the professional man who occupies a prominent position in modern literature or science.

Among the wealthier and the indifferent who do not care to live near the orthodox shops and synagogues we find, of course, all modern appliances for sanitation and health. These now live on the avenues and boulevards where money is the open sesame to comfort and convenience. One would hardly recognize in these people the same human beings who ten or fifteen years before had lived on the West Side in uncomfortable surroundings. No people rise more rapidly than these so soon as they find opportunity.

This paper will deal mainly with the poorer classes,—mechanics, factory “hands,” small manufacturers, shopkeepers, clerks, day laborers, and the like. These are settled in four main districts, viz.: Englewood, Brighton Park, the Northwest Side, and the West Side, in the Ninth Ward and its vicinity. Many have also migrated to suburban towns,—Pullman, Evanston, Kensington, East Chicago, South Chicago and Hegewisch. In Englewood rents are low and housing conditions excellent. Yards, bath-rooms, and modern laundries are plentiful. Here we have an example of how the Russian Jewish workingman and his family will live if given the chance. While the moral, financial, and educational status of the people there is about the same as that of the Jews in the Ninth Ward, no one has yet called the Englewood district a Ghetto, nor has anyone so designated the wards where wealthy Jews have chosen to live near their temples, relatives, friends and social or business interests.

The Northwest Side is the home of many of Chicago's most intellectual Russian Jews. There are many artistic homes here even where there is little money, the educated mother and housewife making this possible.

Brighton Park bids fair to become another Englewood for the Jewish artisan and small trader.

The West Side district contains about 30,000 Russian Jews, who pay high rents for the privilege of living in insanitary houses. Fortunately conditions are not so bad there as they seem on first sight. Walking through the streets of the neighborhood one is shocked by the dirt and disorder. But it is the æsthetic and not the moral sense which is outraged. The district is not really a slum. Evidences of education, morality, and intelligence are found in abundance. With the exception of incorrigible boys and petty gamblers, there is no vicious element. Temperance rules supreme. Soda water is sold at the grocery stores at two cents a bottle and at the stands for one cent a glass. This in summer and weak tea in winter are the national drinks of the Russian Jewish populace. No neighborhood in our city, with the exception of Prohibition districts, shows so few saloons to the number of population.

A growing demand for accommodations is causing landlords to build on yard space. Accordingly, little children are compelled to use the streets for play grounds, and there are little children galore. Passing wagons and trolley cars, defective plank pavements, disease breeding garbage boxes, and falling missiles play sad havoc with these innocents who furnish ample material for the nearby clinics and dispensaries.

Boys and girls with faces and frocks besmirched, careworn men and women, disorderly shops, rickety shanties, which bring on pneumonia and rheumatism, all on streets shamefully neglected by the city authorities, make up a scene which must cause us to blush for our much vaunted civilization.

There is the aloofness and indifference of those who could be a powerful help in changing the state of affairs. They should use their influence for the enactment and enforcement of a law prohibiting the renting of apartments which are not provided with proper sanitary appliances.

Our West Side settlement of Russian Jews is essentially a community of homes. The "bunk" system, cheap lodging houses, trashy restaurants, and men's boarding houses are conspicuous by their absence. The free lunch saloon is rare. Single men and women without homes either rent furnished rooms or board with families. Sel-dom will a family take more than one or two "roomers"

or boarders. The restaurants are high-priced and wholesome. There is no hotel in the whole district. The poorest individual pays a family one dollar a week for lodging and coffee or tea in the morning. A penny roll for breakfast and another for supper make up the morning and evening fare of some of these lodgers. For dinner the kind housewife adds five cents' worth of meat to her pot for the lodger and furnishes the cooking free. Thus much against his habit and personal inclination many a poor student or peddler lives temporarily on one dollar and fifty cents a week. However, the large majority of the inhabitants of the district average about \$3 per person for board alone.

In some few isolated cases a family occupies one room, but usually the poorest have two rooms or more. The majority have three or four.

At the Foster Public School 1,730 children were questioned as to the number of rooms occupied by their parents. The information obtained was as follows:

CHILDREN CLASSED ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF ROOMS OCCUPIED BY THEIR FAMILIES

Having 1 room for each family	22
" 2 rooms " " "	62
" 3 " " " "	195
" 4 " " " "	778
" 5 " " " "	305
" 6 " " " "	215
" 7 " " " "	70
" 8 " " " "	79
" 9 " " " "	1
" 10 " " " "	2
" 14 " " " "	1
Total	1730

The majority of the children in this school are of Russian Jewish parentage.

At the Washburne School 798 were questioned. The result was as follows:

Having 1 room for each family	3
" 2 rooms " " "	31
" 3 " " " "	102
" 4 " " " "	289
" 5 " " " "	159
" 6 " " " "	122
" 7 " " " "	47
" 8 " " " "	45
Total	798

The Washburne is attended almost entirely by children of Russian Jews.¹

In the majority of West Side homes among these people the kitchen is the only room that is suitably heated for bathing purposes. It is also used for the family sitting and dining room. The statement has often been made that soap and water are cheap, but what of the warm private bath-room? Here there are thousands of people compelled to live under conditions, that, to say the least, make the bath at home exceedingly difficult. Often the tired workingman or workingwoman and the growing boy or girl must wait until after midnight before the only comfortable room in the flat is vacated. A real estate agent, who has been fifteen years in the Ninth Ward, says that in the district east of Halsted Street there is not one apartment in four hundred furnished with a bathroom or hot water connections. In the district bounded by Halsted, Canal, West Twelfth, and West Fourteenth Streets, the distinctively Jewish section, but 373 out of a population of 10,452, or 2.56 per cent., have bath tubs.² Many families are moving west of Halsted Street in the search for apartments with bath rooms.

There are some wealthy residents who occupy the few modern steam-heated flats which are in great demand. There is one model apartment house at the corner of Bunker and Desplaines Streets, but of its twenty-four families only four are Jewish. These flats are heated by steam and have sanitary plumbing and bath rooms. All the rooms are light and well ventilated. There are porches, flower boxes, paved court-yards, and fire escapes. The rents are from thirteen to sixteen dollars a month for a flat of four or five rooms. The building is under the management of an able social settlement worker, who herself lives in one of the flats. She says that after deducting from the profits a sufficient amount to pay for the natural depreciation in its value the house pays five per cent. on the investment.

Such buildings, with good sanitary arrangements, and with humane and intelligent agents on the premises, would mean the saving of life and health to hundreds of men and

¹ These statistics were gathered through the courtesy of Miss Flowers of the Washburne School and the Misses Schgoldager and Bernstein of the Foster School.

² *Tenement Conditions in Chicago*, p. 108.

women in our crowded city districts. In our West Side community of Jews such tenements would help to lift the lives of the young from discomfort and despair to happiness and hope. It must be admitted, however, that agents would sometimes be necessary to combat the slovenly housewife; not all the defects are due to the landlord.

At present the Ninth Ward is covered with small frame and brick buildings originally intended for one or two families, but now subdivided into four or five apartments which rent for from \$2 to \$3 a month per room.

A few enterprising landlords have already put up insanitary tenements with dark, disease-breeding bed-rooms. The time seems very near at hand when Chicago is to develop the tenement-house horror as it exists in New York City. Shall we not take warning now and prevent it? Mere laws on the statute books, we have found by experience, do not wholly protect the poor from municipal evils. The workingman is often too busy earning a living to be able to protect his interests. The leisure class should exercise eternal vigilance for the proper housing of the poor. Behind the laws are needed interested individuals constantly watching in reference to their enforcement.

Ninth Ward plumbing and closets are unhygienic. Rarely is there a house fitted with screens. Thus, flies carry disease germs from house to house. There are no laundry rooms. Chimneys are defective. The rooms are cold and smoky during our long winters and close in summer. Frequently dead rats lie rotting beneath the flooring in these old shanties. Pavements are broken and steps are rickety. Ventilation without the admission of draughts is almost impossible. Yet who cares? The poor tenant cannot be forever quarreling with his landlord, who will tell him to move on if he does not like conditions. There are people who could alter these things if they would. Some have suggested moving the Jewish people from the Ninth Ward to other places. This would still leave the same vile buildings to be inhabited by other human beings. The erection of model dwellings and shops, with the abolition of the street stand, would remedy many of the evils.

That the Russian Jew does not belong to the life he is compelled to live in the Ninth Ward is proven by the general discontent among the residents, who live there only because of strong business or social ties which make it seem to them necessary. Many regret this necessity, but

like the majority of humanity are ruled by circumstance.

This neighborhood supports six or more large private bathing establishments, which charge from fifteen cents to twenty-five cents each for baths. Besides, the barber shops do a thriving business by furnishing baths for the younger men and boys. The women and older men patronize the Russian bathing establishments. They are too expensive for the children and are rarely used by the younger unmarried women whose income is frequently not more than \$4 per week. There are many classes of poor in a great city. Each has its virtue. One virtue of the poorest Russian Jewish family is that the bath house is patronized by them. Another is that their standards of living are not low, as is amply proven so far as house rents go, by the statistics in the report of the City Homes Association, "Tenement Conditions in Chicago."

If they are not better cared for, others as well as they are responsible. It is criminal to permit the renting to human beings of apartments which are not better fitted for that purpose than are dog kennels. The health of a whole city is endangered by insanitary conditions in any of its parts. For our own protection we should insist on good housing throughout the city.

You ask if the Russian Jew is discontented with his surroundings in the Ninth Ward why does he not move to where rents are lower and houses better? It is because of his peculiar observances. He does not ride on the Sabbath day. Consequently he wants to live within walking distance of his orthodox synagogue. He desires to eat food which can be obtained only at the kosher (ceremonially clean) shops. Consequently he wishes to live near these shops. Often he can speak only the Yiddish language. Then, too, in many cases he can best earn his living among his own people. Sometimes his work or business is within walking distance and he wants to save care fares. He has, too, family ties and social interests. Even if streets are neglected and houses are vile, he endeavors to adapt himself to his environment. Who is to blame? He is, in so far as he does not take action to compel landlords and city authorities to furnish sanitary necessities and clean streets. We all are, in so far as we heap cold "charity" on the community and do not co-operate with its members to secure justice. These people give us untainted, splendid material for the future American citizen. They toil

in factory and store to supply our needs, to give our children wealth and comfort. We owe them, at least, health-preserving habitations; else our civilization is no civilization and our social ethics are worthless.

A syndicate of the philanthropic could build model dwellings, shops and market houses. These could be rented at reasonable rates to bring a small profit. The sharp landlord would be driven out of business by such an organization. He could no longer thrive at the expense of human life and health. Such a philanthropic corporation would have large profits in the joy of having saved families from disease and disgrace. The æsthetic sense of the tenant would be stimulated by making order and cleanliness possible and easy. Prizes offered in the schools, synagogues, and chedarim (Hebrew schools) for well kept homes and shops might wholly change the character of the ward. Much municipal carelessness would be checked by a powerful association working in co-operation with the tenants of insanitary neighborhoods. At present greedy landlords club together to pay lawyers to prevent even much needed street paving, thus leaving catch holes and culture beds for all sorts of disease germs on our wooden pavements.

Those who think they will scatter the Russian Jewish people over other parts of the city, when every law of nature, circumstance and religion causes them to segregate as they do on the West Side, are much mistaken. What they may hope to do is to change the character of the so-called Ghetto. For the last thirty years thinkers and philanthropists here in Chicago have tried to help the Jewish poor. They are learning that to know and truly help a people one must live with them, love them, and extend to them not only charity but friendship, sincere, earnest, and on a plane of equality. Men here have talked and talked of the "poor Russian." The "poor Russian" who knows that he is a strong, great-hearted Russian in all but money has both laughed and wept as he has listened to these discussions. You have not heard his answer because he has not always had the command of your language. Read his Yiddish newspapers. You will find his answer in them. He has for generations been a student and thinker. He is rapidly learning our language. He will work out his own salvation in time, even though left severely alone. The philanthropist may hasten that time

by judicious assistance, or defer it by "charity" which weakens and pauperizes. Those who are ashamed of an American Ghetto — and well they may be — have now the opportunity of working for better conditions in the homes of their less fortunate co-religionists and of showing the world by example that "the fittest place for man to live is where he lives for man." There are wise, powerful, and cultured Jews in Chicago. They belong to the Ninth Ward as much as to any other and should go there frequently for its improvement.

When we consider the individual habits of these people we must admit that all is not as we would wish. The Russian Jewish housewife, although a good cook, is a poor laundress. She is often not methodical or neat. She is intensely sociable and will frequently be found visiting her neighbors when she should be cleaning her sinks or arranging her closets. She will wear soiled aprons, and have many useless dust-holding gewgaws in her home and is careless of her personal appearance. Her husband often, in the words of George Eliot, "matches her." They are both greatly overburdened by work and care. They will sit down to brood over their troubles in the new country and thus sap the energy and ambition which should be used for the betterment of their home surroundings.

Fortunately, they have many religious holidays. The advent of these and of the Sabbath rouses them from their lethargy. There is a general cleaning of the houses. Children are bathed in preparation for the holidays and the Sabbath. Men and women flock to the bath-houses. Special meals are prepared. Tired brains and bodies are given a much needed rest. The Passover in the spring is the occasion for a complete housecleaning and for removing every crumb of leavened bread. With the bread crumbs many a heap of dust and microbes is also removed.

A large number of the younger generation have departed from the ways of their ancestors in the matter of religion. So long as they are single, and when away from home, they eat without scruple foods prepared in other than Orthodox Jewish ways. When, however, they marry and have homes of their own, the wishes of parents, other relatives, or friends are respected and a new orthodox

home is established. Besides, their tastes are for customary Jewish foods.

The minimum for which a family of six can ordinarily have its table supplied is about a dollar a day. Half the food is bought at the Jewish shops. The women are expert fish buyers. They will accept none but the freshest. Orthodox Jews will buy only live fowl or those newly killed by their own experts, who sever the blood vessels of the throat and drain the animal of its blood. The blood is still further removed from all meat by soaking and salting. After killing the animal the schochet (slaughterer) looks over it for any diseased or abnormal condition, which if found makes it immediately unfit for food and causes its rejection. No Jewish butcher of repute among the people will sell meat which is over six days old.

As their religion enjoins waiting six hours between the meat and the milk meal, and as the Jewish housewife has an entirely separate set of dishes for the meat meal—which is prepared with much care—she becomes a splendid ally of the physician in the treatment of rheumatism and similar diseases. Few of the orthodox families have more than one meal a day at which meat is served.

The Jew is supposed to search the carcass of any animal used as food, to ascertain whether it is diseased. This, unfortunately, is not done according to our modern knowledge of infectious diseases, so that the ritual search of the schochetim (slaughterers) who are employed by the great stockyard packers here amounts to almost nothing as a preventive of any disease other than tuberculosis. The very careful examination of the lungs results in discarding the tubercular animals.

The orthodox housewife is compelled to be minutely careful in the selection of food. As the maggot is forbidden food, she will not buy factory cheese. She carefully picks cherries, prunes and other fruits. Cereals are tested on a warm tin plate in the search for maggots. Cabbage is carefully picked for insects. Foul vegetables cannot be used.

The wine cup is in universal use for ceremonial purposes on all holidays and on each Sabbath. The wine and brandy bottle have their place in every home. There is no Jewish temperance organization, yet where can one find less drunkenness and fewer saloons than in the West Side settlement of Russian Jews?

Tobacco is everywhere in evidence. So are the tobacco throat and nervousness. The cigarette and pipe are the boon companions of young men and old. But the woman cigarette smoker finds no place among the Russian Jews. The orthodox never smoke on the Sabbath; at every step their religion fosters self-control.

To the credit of those great educational factors among Russian Jewish Americans, the penny Yiddish and English newspapers, it must be said that modern ideas of sanitation and health are being widely disseminated. It is, however, doubtful whether the newer laws will be so strictly adhered to as those that have the adamantine binding of religion.

It is worthy of passing notice that the Russian Jew seldom has the Roman nose. There seems to be a decided difference, too, in the features of the younger immigrants as compared with the older.

Placing side by side the statistics of two of our Chicago hospitals, one markedly non-Jewish in the nationality of its patients, the other in which no less than 75 per cent. of the patients are Russian Jews, we find in about 1,000 cases in each the following ratios:

	JEWISH HOSPITAL	NON-JEWISH HOSPITAL
Pneumonia	41	24
Rheumatism	47	20
Hernias	56	29
Neurasthenia	39	17
Diabetes	5	3
Delirium tremens	1	36
Morphinism	1	5
Syphilis	4	18

These statistics are meagre, roughly compiled, and somewhat inaccurate, but they will illustrate what physicians coming much in contact with Russian Jews constantly notice, namely, that they are especially prone to rheumatism, neurasthenia, hernias, and pneumonia.

Dr. A. W. Schram, of Chicago, during his residence as interne at the Michael Reese Hospital, told the writer that in his opinion the many hernias were due to a weak muscularity.

Rheumatism and pneumonia are undoubtedly brought on by a lowered resistance due to exposure in our severe climate.

The neurasthenia and hernias may be attributed to the

fact that the people are descendants of students and themselves frequently follow sedentary occupations.

As the two hospitals above referred to do not admit patients suffering from tuberculosis, no statistics relative to this disease could be obtained from those sources. Dr. Maurice Fishberg¹ places the death rate from tuberculosis among Jews at only 110.56 to 100,000 of population as against 565.06 per 100,000 of other residents of New York City.

Statistics of tuberculosis among the living are unreliable because frequently patients that are declared tubercular show in course of time no development of the disease. Though many leave their homes in search of health, the majority of the really consumptive go home to die, so that the death rate may be considered a fair basis.

Tuberculosis is much too prevalent among Jews in Chicago but not more than among other people; probably less. Unquestionably there is less consumption in the Ninth Ward than in other wards where equally criminal housing conditions prevail.

Carcinoma is comparatively frequent. Syphilis is rarely seen in its worst forms, and the ulcerated sore throat almost never. General paresis and locomotor ataxia are also very rare among orthodox Jews. That circumcision is not a preventive of specific disease is proven by Chicago clinics and dispensaries.

Osler² states that the Jew is especially prone to diabetes. English physicians point out that the Jew furnishes a large proportionate quota of the insane. The enemy of the Jew has been quick to attribute his nervous diathesis to greed for gain, and to consanguineous marriages, and diabetes to overfeeding. Has it ever occurred to those who make such statements that the Jew comes of a studious ancestry, that his weak muscular system and high nervous temperament are caused by student habits and religious zeal? The Jew is by custom and religion the most temperate man in the world. Diabetes is now believed by many to be a disease of the nervous system. Have the critics ever endeavored to ascertain how many of their insane Jewish patients show a history of consanguineous marriages? There are, unfortunately, many of

¹ "The Comparative Infrequency of Tuberculosis among Jews." *American Medicine*, November 2nd, 1901.

² *Practice of Medicine*, p. 320.

our Russian co-religionists in "the living death" at the institutions for the insane of Illinois at Elgin, Watertown, Kankakee, and Dunning. In the few cases which I have been able to investigate I have not found one with a history of the marriage of near relatives. It is to be hoped that some neurologist will give us ample statistics on this subject.

Among a learned people, where one rarely finds an illiterate man, where the field for gaining a livelihood has been narrowed down by the oppressor, and where religious enthusiasm is at its height, we need not look further for causes of the high-strung nervous system and relaxed muscularity of the Russian Jew.

Venereal disease is less frequent than among many other classes. Early marriages prevent in a measure that promiscuous association which so often causes infection. Home life and purity are encouraged. It is considered an act of charity to help an orphan or friendless girl to marry. Frequently collections of money are made to start a young couple in life. The professional matchmaker facilitates matrimony among all classes.

The religious marital bath is largely patronized by the women. This institution was created by men, who were the law-makers. They forgot to make like laws for themselves. Let us hope that they thought their superior intelligence did not need the the whip of religion, and that they were as cleanly as they commanded their wives to be. Assuredly the religious bath is a wise institution for the ignorant. Specific disease is not absent but is rare even among the lowest class of orthodox Jews.

During the year 1900 the Ninth Ward (formerly the Seventh) had a remarkably low death rate in spite of its unfortunate environments. To every 1,000 of population the proportion was 11.99. For comparison, the following figures as to death rates are quoted:

To every 1,000 of population, 1900: Philadelphia, 19.38; New York City, 19.59; Chicago, 14.68; Twenty-third Ward, Chicago, 18.69; Twenty-ninth Ward, Chicago, 15.62; Ninth Ward, formerly the Seventh, Chicago, 11.99.

The Twenty-third and Twenty-ninth Wards have about the same number of inhabitants as the Ninth and similar poor housing conditions. The annual death rate for several years for these three wards is appended:

YEAR	SEVENTH (NOW NINTH WARD)	TWENTY-THIRD WARD	TWENTY-NINTH WARD
1891	16.80	19.74	19.38
1892	14.18	17.22	16.43
1893	11.92	13.38	16.86
1894	12.34	11.32	14.27
1895	14.01	14.71	14.81
1896	12.96	12.27	15.57
1897	12.34	13.09	13.10
1898	13.37	14.81	14.37

These figures, taken from Chicago's public health reports, show a constant low death rate for eight years in the Russian Jewish settlement.

Some writers have claimed for circumcision that it will prevent zymotic disease. The practice is universal among Russian Jews, yet statistics covering fifteen years for what was formerly the Seventh Ward indicate as large a ratio of deaths from this class of cases, as compared with the total number of deaths, as in any ward in Chicago. The experience of physicians here is that typhoid fever, scarlet fever, croup, diphtheria, smallpox, diarrheal diseases are not especially respecters of the persons of the orthodox. A writer in an American medical journal¹ recently complained of permitting ritual circumcision by any but regularly qualified physicians. We should reinforce his efforts in behalf of the Jewish infant. Much mischief is done by mohelim who are not competent surgeons. A thorough knowledge of asepsis, hæmostasis, and stimulation are necessary for the work. It should at least be done under the supervision of a physician, and only with his permission.

It is the custom in orthodox homes to bury the dead within twenty-four hours after death, and with but little exposure. The body is not allowed to remain on the family bedding but is removed to the cold, bare floor. The custom is crude and primitive, yet the early removal of the dead from among the living is best where disease may cause infection. The washers of the dead are not paid. They do the work as an act of charity for rich and poor alike. Flowers are forbidden. Simplicity is the rule. Every visitor to the house of the dead is enjoined to wash his hands before returning home. Doctors who know the customs of the people often advise the washers to use an

¹ Ferd. C. Valentine, M. D., "Surgical Circumcision," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, March 16, 1901.

antiseptic solution for their hands after they have performed their service. This should be made compulsory.

An insurance agent whose patronage is largely among Russian Jews states that they are considered excellent risks by all life insurance companies. I have been unable to procure figures as to the average life of the Russian Jew, but for the Jew in general the expectation of life is greater than that of the people among whom he lives.¹

The Russian Jew is accustomed to self control. He loves his family. He is very rarely guilty of murder. His wife and daughter are chaste and moral, statements to the contrary notwithstanding. Sifted down we find such statements based largely on hearsay evidence or on exceptional cases of moral depravity. Those who know the people well and can judge them without prejudice realize that there is no class who have so little vice among them. Who better than the physician has the opportunity of knowing the birth of illegitimate children? To a population of over 20,000 West Side Jews there are probably not over ten illegitimate births a year. The mothers are usually young, almost children, and the fathers not always Jews. The calculation was made after careful inquiry among physicians who have a large West Side practice.

The low dance hall does not exist as we see it in some other wards of large cities. The young people do attend dances, but in the same way as the sons and daughters of the wealthy go to South Side club "receptions" and "parties," namely, for innocent amusement and for sociability.

The working girl on the West Side indulges in wine more rarely than does her wealthier sister. Her mother does not play poker and whist. If fashionable clubs were raided as much as poor saloons the gambling passion would be found in the former just as much as in the latter.

The small boy is the small boy here as elsewhere. He needs careful guarding and guiding. When the home is healthful and wholesome and the mother intelligent he may be under her watchful eye. When homes are cubbyholes and mothers incompetent, he seeks diversion elsewhere.

Russian Jewish women have been instructed by their religion to care for their persons, pots and pans. Education must be added to cultivate the sense of the æsthetic.

¹ See article "Expectation of Life," *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. V.

We have in these people an illustration resulting from the notion that it is the woman's business on earth only to bear children. To care for the home and to train the children requires as cultivated a mind as does any noble profession. This the parents of the Russian girl have not always realized. These women have only their intuitive sense of goodness and their religious instruction to guide them. Sometimes they are stubborn and will not allow the daughter to inaugurate her better way in the home. Often there is a pitiful breach between parents and children owing to differences in tastes and ideas.

Some of the Russian Jewish people are so poor that they permit their women to be used for teaching purposes during childbirth. This saves for them the obstetrician's fee. Chicago medical colleges draw their obstetrical instruction largely from Jewish mothers. From one to four students usually witness the birth at the home of the woman. Colleges vie with each other to get these obstetrical "cases."

There are some who see the faults of the Russian Jew through a magnifying glass and hasten to proclaim them from the house tops. They do not seek to find his virtues and are surprised when these are pointed out. Very often his critics have never associated with a single Russian Jewish family on terms of equality. Their ideas are gathered from mendicants whom they meet in connection with the charity societies. Many of these critics know nothing of the Russian Jews as a whole. They see them through a charity office, which is a clearing house for the poverty stricken, the unfortunate, or the degraded. To judge a whole people in this way is like judging the ocean by the foam on its waves.

There is a tendency now among Russian Jews to take up agricultural pursuits. An agitation is afoot to build a gymnasium and to establish an employment bureau in connection with the proposed Hebrew institute. All this will help toward other occupations than in shops and factories. The Russian Jew has awakened to the necessity of self help and co-operation. As he progresses he will be on a par physically and financially where he already is mentally and morally. The necessity in reference to Russian Jews in America is to help them to help themselves. They have intelligence. With the acquisition of other qualities they will take an important place in the community.

X

LAW AND LITIGATION

(A) NEW YORK

1. BY WALTER SCOTT ANDREWS, M. A.

2. BY ADAM WIENER

Treasurer Society for the Aid of Jewish Prisoners, New York City

(B) PHILADELPHIA

BY ISAAC HASSLER, LL. B.

Member Philadelphia Bar

(C) CHICAGO

BY ELIJAH N. ZOLINE

LAW AND LITIGATION

(4) NEW YORK¹

1

The student of the comparative criminology of the city of New York is confronted at the outset, by the difficulty which arises from the lack of unity in the systems of classification of nationalities, adopted by the various agencies whose reports furnish him with his material. The Bureau of Municipal Statistics would perform a signal service in securing the adoption of a common system, and the value of a vast amount of matter would be increased a thousand-fold. The classification is too summary, in the otherwise valuable reports of the Board of City Magistrates, and the same may be said of the reports of the Board of Health. While the following study is based partly upon estimates, the results are, it will be seen, in general confirmed by comparisons of actual counts. The estimates of population are calculated from the police census of 1895, which places that of the boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx for that year, at 1,851,060.² The population of the two boroughs for 1898, the year chosen for this investigation, was, according to the estimate of the Board of Health, 1,976,600. Besides the authorities named, recourse has been had to the report of the Commissioner of Immigration for 1900, and valuable suggestion has been derived from an interesting series of papers published by Judge Deuel, president of the Board of City Magistrates, in *Town Topics*,³ and from his report for the year 1898. Judge Deuel reaches the comforting conclusion that, upon the whole, serious crime in New York city is on the decrease. His tables show the same large relative proportion of crim-

¹ The study by Mr. Andrews was originally published in the Year Book of the University Settlement Society of New York, 1900.

² See *Report of the Board of Health*, 1895.

³ The papers were published at intervals in *Town Topics* during the years 1897 and 1898, and were summarized in two articles, which appeared during the months of September and November, 1898.

inality among the natives of the United States as is shown in the table given below, and the proportionate contributions of the various nationalities are constant enough, within certain limits, to justify us in taking the records of a given year as a term of comparison. The basis for the study is the record of persons actually held for trial or summarily tried, by the police magistrates. It is only of these that the details as to nationality are given, and, moreover, they furnish better evidence of presumptive criminality than do the mere arraignments.

The lower East Side of New York lies mostly within the jurisdiction of Essex Market police court, which extends over a region bounded by East River, Catharine Street, the Bowery, East Houston Street, Clinton Street, Avenue B, and Fourteenth Street. An estimate of its population for 1898 places it at 351,800, or 17.85 per cent. of the total population for the boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx. In 1897 the births, where both parents or the mother only were natives, constituted but 14.80 per cent. of the whole number in the district; while those in which the mother only or both parents are given as Polish-Russians, were 40.35 per cent. of the total number. Besides this, both parents or the mother only in 30.07 per cent. of the total births were classed as "from other countries," and these include large numbers of Austrians (Poles, Hungarians), and some Roumanians. The German births contribute 5.90 per cent., the Italian 6.33 per cent., and the Irish but 2.55 per cent., the mother, at least, belonging to the country named. These figures are adduced to give statistical support to what is a matter of common knowledge; namely, that a study of the lower East Side of New York in any aspect, is a study of the population which constitutes the recent and present immigration from Eastern Europe to this country, an immigration consisting mostly of Jews, one of the most important displacements of sections of the race known in history, and one which has resulted in making of New York perhaps the most populous Jewish city that has ever existed. The tables given below are intended to show, first: the general relations of the lower East Side to its chief lower criminal court, Essex Market court (the Third District), by a comparison of the total number of persons held for trial, or summarily tried and convicted in this court for certain specified offenses, with the whole number so held or so

tried and convicted, in the two boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx; second, the proportion of the criminality in the district which may be attributed to the Russians, they being the only nationality of those named above which receives a place by itself in the classification adopted by the Board of City Magistrates. As it is eminently true of a district which includes the Bowery within its limits, that a certain proportion of the crimes and offenses committed there are committed by non-residents, further tables are given, showing the proportionate contributions of the Russians, as well as those of natives of the United States and of each of several nationalities for the two boroughs, both in the matter of total criminality as compared with population, and in the matter of the commission of the same crimes and offenses specified in the previous table. If we leave aside the figures of population, and consider the proportionate contribution of a given nationality to the sum total of criminality as its norm of social activity in this direction, we will have a term which will permit us to discover in what direction the given nationality is disposed to sin most. And in this comparison we will have the advantage of relying entirely upon records, and not at all upon estimates. Following Judge Deuel's scheme in general, but not in detail, the crimes the commission of which involves the implication of moral turpitude head the list. Then follow less serious offenses—the assaults which are mere quarrels, the larcenies which may be mere detentions of goods. Next are placed three offenses—the keeping of a disorderly house, gambling and the keeping of a gambling house—in which convictions, and even the arraignments are so few as to suggest that, apart from the difficulty of securing evidence, they are regarded with a certain degree of benignity by the police.¹ In this group, and in the last, where convictions are numerically very few, percentages would be misleading and the actual number of cases is given.

Table I. showing (1) The total number of persons held or summarily tried and convicted for certain specified offenses in the boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx for the year 1898, as shown by the report of the Board of Police Magistrates for that year. (2) The proportionate con-

¹ This is truer of the period under consideration than it is now.

tribution, according to nationalities, in the two boroughs
 (3) The proportionate contribution of the population within the jurisdiction of Essex Market police court, and the share of the Russians in the criminality of the district.

	Total number held or summarily tried and convicted in boroughs of Manhattan and Bronx	Per cent. U. S.	Per cent. Ireland	Per cent. Germany	Per cent. Italy	Per cent. Russia	Per cent. Greece	Per cent. Other Countries.	Per cent. Essex Market to Total	Per cent. Russians in Essex Market Court to total in same court
Assault (felony)...	531	44.2	14.3	7.1	18.6	4.3	2.6	4.3	10.5	23.1
Burglary	769	65.4	9.9	10.1	3.6	5.9	0.5	2.1	23.2	20.2
Forgery	53	53.6	6.9	8.7	3.4	10.3	.....	2.4	13.3	62.5
Homicide	84	42.9	21.4	11.9	6.0	6.0	.....	10.7	47.6	12.5
Larceny (felony)...	1,590	55.6	8.3	10.0	4.5	9.0	0.4	6.7	18.3	33.0
Robbery	232	62.5	15.6	6.46	3.08	2.7	.....	2.7	17.7	9.8
Assault (Misdemeanor).....	1,313	43.3	20.8	7.6	14.9	5.9	1.6	3.5	10.7	35.0
Disorderly conduct	23,503	43.2	17.1	9.7	6.2	10.1	1.5	5.4	26.0	32.0
Disorderly person.	544	43.7	12.1	17.8	2.3	10.6	2.2	6.6	19.8	42.6
Intoxication	12,955	42.0	38.0	8.0	1.3	1.5	1.3	2.0	27.8	3.7
Larceny (Misdemeanor).....	2,511	57.1	13.2	9.8	4.9	6.1	0.16	4.14	15.4	27.7
Vagrancy	5,149	49.6	25.4	13.6	1.2	1.8	0.6	2.7	19.2	3.25
Violation of Corp. Ord.....	9,808	12.2	2.7	4.6	19.5	17.7	33.4	8.6	20.1	62.4

ACTUAL NUMBER OF CASES

Disorderly House.	154	36	2	41	8	40	.....	18	83	37
Gambling	33	11	6	13	2	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Gambling House (Keeping).....	66	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	20	8
Abduction	17	6	1	1	5	3	1	.....	5	3
Arson	8	3	2	1	1	.....	1	.....	1	1
Perjury	10	5	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Rape	36	10	3	2	15	2	1	1	7	1

Table II.—Distribution of criminality according to nationality in the boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx, for the year 1898, according to the report of the Board of City Magistrates for that year. The percentages in the last column are taken as the normal contributions of the given nationalities to the total criminality. By comparing this percentage with the percentages under the nationalities in Table I, the offenses in which a given nationality surpasses its general average, and those in which it is inferior to it, are shown :

Nativity	Population	Total number of persons held for trial, or summarily tried and convicted	Per cent. of given nationality to total population	Per cent. persons of given nativity held for trial or summarily tried and convicted, to whole number so held, or tried and convicted
United States.....	417,100	26,995	21.1	40.2
Ireland	409,200	13,137	20.7	19.5
Germany	434,700	6,454	22.0	9.6
England	42,500	2,030	2.15	3.0
Scotland	13,800	555	0.7	0.8
France	11,900	982	0.6	1.5
Italy	120,600	4,641	6.1	6.9
Russia	221,300	5,481	11.2	8.2
Greece	5,000	3,659	0.25	5.4
Other countries..	300,500	3,267	15.2	4.9
Totals	1,976,600	67,201	100.00	100.00

With 17.85 per cent. of the total population of the two boroughs, that within the jurisdiction of Essex Market court furnishes 22.13 per cent. of the total criminality, 23.8 per cent. of the burglaries, 47.6 per cent. of the homicides, far more than its fair share of the cases of disorderly conduct and intoxication, and somewhat more than its proportion of vagrants. It is below its reputation in its contribution of both grades of assault. The Russians in the district are prominent in their commission of forgery, violation of corporation ordinances, as disorderly persons (failure to support wife or family), both grades of larceny, and of the lighter grade of assault. The reputation for general restlessness of the clientele of Essex Market court seems to be due to the large proportion it furnishes of the totality of arraignments, namely 28 per cent. These and the numerous summons he is asked to issue, often for trivial causes and petty quarrels, may well furnish a magistrate with a vast amount of unpleasant business.

Turning to the other tables, we find that the Russians, with 11.2 per cent. of the whole population, furnish but 8.2 per cent. of the criminality, and applying this last figure, which is their percentage of the total criminality (apart from any question of population), to the percentages in the list of specified offenses, we find that they

surpass their norm in some of the same offenses which furnish their contribution to the criminality of the East Side, *i. e.*, forgery, felonious larceny, as disorderly persons, and as violators of corporation ordinances; but that, as a whole, they are far below their average in the commission of assault. The Russian on the East Side seems somewhat more inclined to violence than his compatriot in the city at large. He is notably but little addicted to intoxication, and furnishes a very small proportion of vagrants. This sobriety and this avoidance of the workhouse are also characteristic of the Italians, who, on the other hand, are more addicted to violence. Further comparisons will be left to the reader, but attention may be called to the remarkable fact that the very small population of Greeks in the two boroughs commit more than 33 per cent. of the violations of corporation ordinances. The high contribution of natives, shown also in Judge Deuel's table, is worthy of note, in that the relative position toward crime of the native of the United States, as compared with that of the foreign-born citizen or resident, shown by the United States census of 1890, seems reversed. The discrepancy is probably due to the fact that the census counts as foreigners, the children born in the United States of parents born abroad, while these appear as natives in the tables here used.

Turning to the civil courts, we find no such official description of their business as is furnished by the reports of the Board of Magistrates, but must rely upon the summary statements issued by the commissioners of accounts, supplemented, it is true, by the information furnished by the valuable report of the Legal Aid Society. Thanks are also due to Judge Roesch, of the Fourth District municipal court for statistics of his court. The litigation of the lower East Side is transacted in the Fourth and Fifth District municipal courts, which include in their jurisdiction the district bounded by the Bowery, Fourteenth Street, East River, and Catharine Street. Below are given tables comparing the number of summons issued by them to those issued in the First and Eighth Districts. The First District transacts an abnormally large proportionate business, because it is the down-town court most convenient to the offices of business men and lawyers, and the court naturally used in many cases where one or both of the litigants is a non-resident with a business office in the city of New York. The Eighth District court, on the West

Side, with a jurisdiction extending from Fourteenth Street to Fortieth Street, and from Sixth Avenue to Hudson River, is chosen for a term of comparison, because a comparatively large proportion of the population which resorts to it is native born.

Table III. showing the number of summons issued in the specified district courts—both actual, and per 1,000 of population, and the proportion of free to paid summons in each court:

MUNICIPAL COURT	FIRST DISTRICT	FOURTH DISTRICT	FIFTH DISTRICT	EIGHTH DISTRICT
Population, 1898.....	56,120	197,600	235,100	163,020
Population, proportion to total....	2.84%	10%	11.9%	8.25%
Paid summonses.....	5,260	2,795	3,239	1,799
Free summonses.....	135	1,650	1,543	695
Total both.....	5,395	4,445	4,782	2,494
Summons per 1,000 of population.	96.1	22.5	20.35	15.30
Summons per 1,000, 1899.....	85.5	22.3	20.89	13.01
Proportion of free summons.....	2.5%	37 %	32 %	27.8%
Proportion of free summons, 1899.	3.6%	34.6%	38.6%	32.6%
Nativity: percentage of 100 births:				
Both parents U. S.....		13 %	8.7%	38.7%
Both parents Russian.....		42.6%	42.6%	2.6%

Table IV.—Municipal courts—Landlord and tenant cases (dispossessions).

MUNICIPAL COURT	FOURTH DISTRICT	FIFTH DISTRICT	EIGHTH DISTRICT
Population, 1898.....	184,895	219,751	152,399
Dispossessions, actual number, 1898.....	6,498	9,372	4,868
“ “ “ “ 1899.....	6,336	9,853	5,324
“ “ per 1,000, 1898.....	35	42.6	31.9
“ “ “ “ 1899.....	34	44.8	34.9
“ “ actual number, 1900.....	6,575	9,767	5,156
“ “ per 1,000, 1900.....	35.5	44.4	33.8

These tables reveal it is true, a somewhat greater tendency to resort to litigation on the East than on the West Side; between 5 and 9 more people in 1,000 apply for a summons on the East Side than do in the Eighth District. But they reveal more strikingly the poverty of the district, in the large proportion of free summonses issued. For a free summons can be issued only when the suit is for a sum of less than \$50, or when a person sues “ in forma

pauperis." The relatively greater number of evictions is evidence of the same poverty, and so is the large business done by the East Side Branch of the Legal Aid Society. This business consists largely of efforts to recover small sums of money due as wages; \$15 would be a high average for all the claims brought to its notice. Many letters are written for the recovery of sums of less than \$1, and suits brought for the recovery of \$5, and of even smaller sums. Seventy-five per cent. of its business is done for Polish and Russian Jews, 50 per cent. of the remainder for Austrian and Roumanian Jews.

Of the total number of judgments obtained, quite a large number are returned unsatisfied (no larger a proportion, however, according to the society's marshal, than in other districts of the city), and this fact might be argued in support of the accusation that the East Side acts upon a low standard of commercial honesty. But a comparison instituted in this manner is not fair. Of the total number of applications to the society, many are settled without recourse to the courts, and many are settled before judgment. In a list of 261 suits examined, 88 were dismissed or discontinued, or resulted in judgments for the defendant; 79 were settled or reported settled; 39 judgments were satisfied, thus leaving 55 cases or a little more than 25 per cent. only, of executions returned unsatisfied. Quite as consonant with the facts at hand as the theory of commercial dishonesty would be the one of the prevalence of a spirit of enterprise out of proportion to the capital of the community; and the frequency of settlements before final judgment may well mean that in a majority of cases the cause of the non-payment of wages is the sheer inability to pay. With regard to the accusation of untruthfulness so freely brought against the litigants of the district, statistics are silent, and the matter must be one of personal impression. In the course of an experience of several months in the East Side office of the Legal Aid Society, the writer believes that usually he has listened to the truth, often colored, of course, by the bias of the relator. The actual and complete denial of a claim is not frequent.

To sum up: The interpretation of these figures seems to show that, judged by the records of the police courts, the native of the United States is, in the city of New York, at least, a more frequent criminal than is the foreign-born

resident or naturalized citizen. They confirm to a certain degree the reputation of the lower East Side for general lawlessness, but absolve the Jew, as judged by the Russian, who is shown to constitute a probably preponderating element in the population, from anything like a proportionate contribution to this lawlessness, excepting as to a few specified offenses. Examining the record of the Russian in the city at large, it is found that he furnishes a low proportion of the general criminality, with a relatively high percentage in the matters of forgery, felonious larceny, refusal or inability to support his family, and in the violation of corporation ordinances. The records of the civil courts seem to show him to be rather more litigious than the average citizen, but they show him, above all, to be poor. As to the matter of commercial dishonesty, the statistics at hand do not justify the accusation, in more than a limited degree, and as to that of untruthfulness, they are silent. A low criminal record, somewhat litigious, very poor, yet furnishing an extremely low contingent to the vagrant classes, these are the characteristics of the East Side Jew, as judged by the Russian. If, from the economic standpoint his very poverty renders him an undesirable competitor, his combination of thrift with sobriety and his slight tendency to crime may well be set off as compensating qualities in any estimate of his value as a future citizen.

2

Thirty years ago the conviction of a Jew for a felony was almost unheard of in the city of New York. To-day there is not one penal institution within the area of the Greater New York which does not harbor some offenders of the Jewish people.

It is not difficult to realize the effect of having thousands of Russians and other wandering Jews and their families turned loose on Manhattan Island, causing them to drift into the Ghetto of our metropolis and other congested districts, where immorality and squalor march hand in hand, and side by side. The Jew has been tainted by the new city life into which he has been cast.

If the tribe of Baron de Hirsch would only multiply

and increase as the tribes of Abou Ben Adam, how many of these poor families might be removed from poverty, hunger and dirt to peaceful pastoral sections of our country, there till the soil and thrive in the agricultural pursuits as some now do in New Jersey.

Appreciating the need of having good Jewish influence brought to bear upon the minds of these offenders and to better them, the Society for the Aid of Jewish Prisoners was ushered into existence in 1891 to take up the work that had been looked after by the Conference of New York Rabbis. Its object is "to improve the moral condition of Jewish prisoners in the state of New York, and to lend them a helping hand after their release from penal institutions."

Under the guidance of this organization, Rev. Dr. A. M. Radin holds divine services at the Penitentiary and Workhouse, Blackwell's Island, on every Saturday; at the House of Refuge, Randall's Island every Sunday; at the Kings County Penitentiary in Brooklyn every other week and at the Tombs Prison on Mondays. At Sing Sing Dr. Israel Davidson makes frequent visits, conducts meetings, and looks after the Jewish prisoners. He also performs a similar task at the state penal institution at Naponach. At Auburn Rev. Dr. A. Guttman, of Syracuse, is the Jewish chaplain, and at Clinton Prison (Dannemora) Rabbi Judelson officiates.

The crimes of the Russian Jew are more or less of a nature similar to those of other nationalities and races, although the basest of crimes, murder and manslaughter, are practically unknown to them.

Some years ago there was a tendency to commit arson, but this too has become almost entirely eliminated from the category of offenses among the immigrant Israelites. Most of the offenses are committed by the children of immigrants, who have been contaminated by the vice of our great city and who spurn the advice of their elders, whom they frequently term "greenhorns" and who are unable to exert the necessary influence over them or to command the proper respect.

Offenders guilty of petty larceny and other misdemeanors or of a grand larceny in a minor degree are generally committed to the Blackwell's Island Penitentiary and about eight per cent. of the prisoners at that institution are Jews. This includes persons arrested for selling or ped-

dling on the streets without a license, who are unable to pay a fine.

Vagrants, drunkards, and disorderly characters are committed to the Work House at Blackwell's Island, and it is gratifying to learn that at all times less than two per cent. of the two thousand inmates of that institution are of the Jewish persuasion.

At the Kings County Penitentiary in Brooklyn there are comparatively few males and it is indeed a rarity to find a Jewish girl or woman on the roll.

At the Tombs Prison and Ludlow Street Jail, where persons under indictment are detained, pending trial, the number varies.

About ten per cent. of the young people at Elmira Reformatory are Jewish, but this includes unfortunates from all over the state of New York.

At Auburn Prison there are generally less than a dozen Jewish convicts sentenced for heinous crimes out of a total of more than thirteen hundred.

The same average holds good for Clinton Prison; and at Sing Sing where the New York City convicts, who have committed felonies, are incarcerated, the average number is less than ten per cent. among the Jews.

"Evil associations corrupt good morals," is applicable to the conditions existing in the so-called Ghetto of New York City. During the regime of Tammany Hall the lower East Side of New York City was a hot bed of vice and immorality and the "red light district," as it was termed, became as offensive a glare to the eye as the Tammany rule was a stench to the nostrils.

Young men and women were lured away from their parental roofs and employed as "cadets" to aid as bad a gang of degenerates as ever lived in a civilized community and the then chief of police looked on, and retired, or rather was turned out of office, after Tammany's defeat on the ill-gotten gains of his office.

Young working girls were scoffed at by those who wore silks and satins and had money in their pockets; while the former wore rags and had barely a few coins that they could consider their own. The bad influence and effects can readily be imagined. From lives of immorality developed vagrancy, petty thefts, and more serious offenses. The banal influence of some of the wretches who called

themselves men and women, not only on girls but on boys as well, can be pictured without much difficulty.

Another trait developed by this state of affairs was gambling and when the losses in gambling became extensive, the temptation to forge and steal developed but too soon.

How could such influences help but offset the virtuous instincts of a parental abode, a father's advice, or a mother's prayer?

There was but one solution when the reform government entered on its duties under the leadership of Mayor Low, whose efforts for good were directly turned towards ameliorating the conditions of these depraved and downtrodden Jews and Jewesses, and whose noble purposes must be thoroughly appreciated,—to prosecute all offenders and purify the congested quarter of the great metropolis.

Through the suggestions of this administration the youthful criminals, or rather offenders, were separated from the hardened convicts, as will appear later.

All offenders are brought before a magistrate's court and where the charge is one of disorderly conduct, vagrancy, disturbing the peace, etc., the court sentences them to Blackwell's Island for a few days or sometimes for some months, and sometimes simply imposes a fine and if it is not paid the culprit is sent to the Workhouse on Blackwell's Island.

In instances where a misdemeanor is committed, such as petty larceny, grand larceny in a minor degree, assault in a minor degree, and the like, the accused is held under an amount of bail for the court of special sessions, presided over by three justices at a session—and without a jury—whose authority extends to sentencing offenders for any period not exceeding one year and in imposing fines not in excess of five hundred dollars. Before the case reaches the court of special sessions an indictment must have been found by the grand jury.

In other instances, where the more serious and heinous crimes are committed the city magistrate holds the prisoner, with or without bail, as the exigencies of the case may require, for the grand jury, and in some cases such matters are submitted to the district attorney in the first instance, and he may take the initiative in submitting the facts to the grand jury. After an indictment has been found, the prisoner, where he cannot or may not give bail, is confined in the city prison, familiarly called the Tombs,

until his case is reached in the court of general sessions of the peace, or occasionally in the criminal term of the supreme court, both of which are conducted under the jury system.

Upon conviction the prisoner may be sentenced to any of the state prisons and fined, or in case of minor offenses, which are sometimes disposed of in the last named court, to the penitentiary.

In Brooklyn there is also a court of special sessions, and the Kings County court which possesses criminal jurisdiction in Brooklyn takes the place of the court of general sessions in New York.

Women convicted for felonious crimes are committed to Auburn or to Blackwell's Island or to some reformatory, while males are sent to any one of the penal institutions herein referred to.

During the past two years a number of excellent innovations have become established tending towards preserving youth under sixteen years of age from contamination with older and more hardened and confirmed criminals.

Wherever a boy or girl of tender years is brought before a magistrate, except in heavy criminal cases, the matter is referred to one of the justices of the court of special sessions who presides over a part called the children's court in an entirely separate building away from the environments of the criminal tribunals.

The courts have parole officers whose duty it is to supervise the conduct and movements of the youthful offenders, on whom sentence is suspended. These parole officers report to the court from time to time, and if the reports are favorable the culprits are again free to go where they please and are thus saved from the evil surroundings of a criminal atmosphere in penal institutions.

This parole system is also in vogue in the magistrate's court and frequently sentence is suspended pending favorable reports submitted to the court by parole officers.

Mrs. Sophie C. Axman, a Jewess, who co-operated with the Educational Alliance and looked after the parole cases in the children's court, has now been appointed chief parole officer by the board of justices of the court of special sessions.

In all of the penal institutions, religious services are held for the Jewish inmates by Jewish rabbis, with the

possible exception of the protectories. At the Catholic protectory the boys are taught useful trades and if at any time a Jewish rabbi desires to interview Jewish children he is generally received very cordially.

In sending children or young men to a reformatory the judge or magistrate selects the institution which is conducted in conformity with the religion of the prisoner.

Last year a certificate of incorporation was granted for a Jewish protectory to be managed on the lines similar to the Catholic protectory. Several meetings of the incorporators of the new Jewish Protectory and Aid Society have been held in New York City and more than two hundred thousand dollars have already been subscribed by Jewish members of this great municipality, men whose wealth of heart is commensurate with that of worldly goods, and it is to be expected that in the very near future ground will be bought and buildings erected on the cottage system, and wayward boys and girls taught trades of all kinds. Under the state laws and county regulations the society will receive \$2 per week or \$114 per annum for each youth cared for, but it is estimated that it will cost again as much to maintain the inmates and the remainder of the requisite fund will be raised through donations and annual dues. Hon. Julius M. Mayer, who was recently elected attorney general of New York state, is the president of the new society. Its work will, beyond doubt, be far reaching. When a youthful offender receives his discharge from the protectory he will be proficient in the trade which he has learned and able to support himself in a respectable manner. Through the co-operation of the societies having a hand in the work of the Removal Bureau he may be sent to other parts of the country to work at his trade, to support himself and others, and bequeath to the next generation a fair type of American manhood.

No particular mention has been made as to the litigation in the criminal courts applicable to Jews for the reason that they are all on the same plane with others.

In cases where a Jewish prisoner or other wishes to stand trial and has no attorney the court will always name some member of the bar to defend the case, and there are always interpreters to assist, although there are instances of miscarriage of justice at times.

However, we may be fairly well satisfied with the conditions during the past year in New York, when we realize

how vastly different the empire state treats its Jewish offenders compared with almost every European nation, other than those of the English-speaking countries.

After a Jewish prisoner is discharged, having completed his term of imprisonment, Jewish societies give him a helping hand, and in some instances lead him back into the paths of virtue; often, too, to the greatest paradise on earth, a happy Jewish home circle.

(B) PHILADELPHIA

What is the relation of the newly arrived Jew of Eastern Europe, generally termed for convenience, the Russian Jew, to American law? In the absence of statistical information or because of ignorance of his peculiar mental and native equipment, erroneous conclusions might be arrived at. The conspicuous presence of the Russian Jew in our courts calls occasionally for hasty, often prejudiced opinions, which the light of the real facts must dispel. If the Russian Jew seems to appear with frequency in the courts, the tendency of the observer, however calm and reserved, to magnify the impression of a novel and individual spectacle must not be forgotten. In the general melange of all kinds of persons of which the assemblage at the courts is made up, few will specially attract the eye save those who are distinguished by some peculiarities of appearance or address or language. Recent immigrants of any nationality almost will be liable to the distinction. The "outlander" is very easily singled out from the throng in whatever country he may be. But in our courts many nationalities, such as English, Irish and German, for obvious reasons, will attract but little special attention because of their near approximation to accepted American types. But when to a latent prejudice is added the striking individual appearance of the Russian Jews, it will be seen that the impression made by them, standing out clearly as they do in the eye of the observer from the rest of the crowd of litigants and suitors, may easily be exaggerated, and a rapid judgment will come to the sincere but perhaps erroneous view that Russian Jews make over frequent appearance in the public forums. Under such circumstances "one swallow may make a whole summer." This caution is here expressed because the writer has found the view to exist upon the part of many persons that the Russian Jew is unduly litigious.

Something needs also to be said of the Russian Jew's previous life and circumstances. His status under the

laws of his native land is uncertain. The only certainty consists in the restrictions which are laid about him and which forbid his assertion of public rights of the commonest order. He is not equal with Russian Christians before the Russian law. It must not be supposed that this dulls his desire for the rights that are withheld and makes him indifferent to their acquisition or importance; on the contrary, as is natural with any people, particularly a people of strong intellectual and moral fibre, the desire is merely whetted by deprivation. Again, in consequence of this civic discrimination and by force of Russia's policy with respect to him, the Jew is shut out of the current of the national life, such as there is, and is thrown back upon himself. From the cares of every day existence, his religion and its books are his recreation, nay, even the chief aim and purpose of his life, and discussion of Jewish law, particularly as contained in the Talmud, becomes the intellectual bread upon which his strong mentality is nourished. The Jewish law will rival in every respect the most important bodies of law which have appeared among men in history; it has its codes and codifications, digests and dicta, precedents, professors and students, great underlying principles, refined scholastic distinctions, quibbles and strength, as have all systems of law. It differs from any modern system in that it makes no distinction between civil law and moral law; all the "civil" law is moral law and all the "moral" law is civil law, a thing which is not true of the common law in force in England and many parts of the United States, in which obligations *ex foro conscientiae* are not necessarily enforceable in *foro legis*. There is a whole great range of human relations, rights, and obligations into which the common law does not enter and with which it does not concern itself, but the Jewish law concerns itself with all relations between men, and even between men and God, and has been the supreme regulation of Jewish life for long centuries. An aptitude for law, an appreciation of its value, a delight in its intellectual contests, and a reverence for its decision is a natural inheritance of the Jewish people. The repressions of Russian policy do not destroy this abiding faith in law; and the freedom of America encourages it. So much for a few points of general application.

The situation of the Russian Jew in Philadelphia does

not differ materially from his situation in other cities of similar size except in a small degree caused by local peculiarities. He is alert, progressive, and thrifty. He enters quickly into business and by hard work and energetic application has made a place for himself in a short time. He is fairly successful in the small shop and by gradual stages comes to have the large manufacturing establishment, and his signs may be seen in all the important wholesale streets of the city. He is a handicraftsman and an employer of labor, and there is probably no branch of trade in which he is not represented in some way. In the mazes of business and investment with others, intricate relations result naturally in a proportionable amount of "lawing" and its incidents. He is a quick student and has early learned the lesson that legal advice in time is a preventive of law suits; conscious of certain handicaps of speech and the other concomitants of a foreign birth, he avails himself freely of the training and skill of the lawyer.

An important part in the legal life of the Russian Jew is played by Russian Jewish notaries public. A number of Russian Jews hold commissions as notaries and have offices in the Russian Jewish district. Their contact with law gives them a smattering of legal knowledge and they not only authenticate papers notarially, but do a quasi-legal business, drawing with more or less skill contracts and papers, engaging in real estate transactions, insurance, and the like, and acting as semi-professional, semi-friendly advisers generally. These "notary public shops," as they have been aptly termed, are the necessary local requirement of a people who need legal services and who turn naturally to those they know best for such assistance. Usually there is a qualified attorney-at-law who either maintains a branch office with the notary public or to whom the latter refers the more difficult part of his business.

No other class of citizens not native born figures as largely in the civil lists of the courts, because no other class as quickly makes its way in the industrial world and enters so keenly into its life and intricacies. But as compared with the whole population, and keeping in view the Russian Jew's business interests, statistical data do not show any undue litigiousness.¹ Of a total of 1,330 cases listed

¹ It is estimated that there are about 100,000 Jews in Philadelphia (of whom 75,000 are Russian Jews), out of a total population of 1,300,000 for the city.

for trial in a trial term of the Philadelphia courts of common pleas, Russian Jews were plaintiffs or defendants or both in 112 cases, a percentage of 8.42; a similar list of 770 cases of another period showed 54 Russian Jewish cases, a percentage of 7.01. The percentage of Russian Jewish cases may safely be placed between seven and eight, a result verified from other court list data. This is close to the Russian Jew's actual percentage of population and would indicate a closer identification with its business and other interests than is the case with other immigrant peoples, whose percentage of "lawing" is not so high and whose activities are correspondingly not so great. The figures therefore show not an indication of obnoxious assertiveness, but a plain result of business and industrial activity.

In the magistrates' or justices' courts (having a civil jurisdiction of cases where not more than one hundred dollars is involved) no very accurate information is obtainable, owing to their number and the relative inaccessibility of their records. Certain magistrates in sections of the city near to the Russian Jewish districts have a large proportion of their business emanating from Jews. The cases are vigorously pressed and as vigorously fought, but one of the magistrates, who had a large amount of this class of business, informed the writer that there is a strong tendency to arbitrate cases, and this is a well known practice, whether before or after a case is begun in court. Some rabbi, a well-known banker, or business man, a notary public, is selected as arbitrator and the difficulty is peaceably adjusted. The rabbi has great influence in this direction and it would seem is most frequently the arbitrator.

A reference to his standing in the world of real estate, including its buying, selling, mortgaging and the like, which is closely allied to the world of general law, will show that the Russian Jew is alive to the merits of the building association system, and to the merits of real estate, whether for investment or personal use. A considerable number of Russian Jewish real estate brokers, agents and dealers of good standing, whose clientele grows rapidly beyond the Russian Jewish circle, attests his active participation in this important field. The daily newspaper lists of real estate transactions show an increasing number of Jewish names; and the Russian Jew is well represented at the sales at leading real estate exchanges.

That he is provident is markedly shown in these real estate dealings. He buys real estate with the idea of saving his money; he buys when he has but a small amount of money to invest, leaving the rest upon easy payment mortgage, which he slowly and surely pays off, though his earnings be but small; he buys not expecting or anticipating to be foreclosed, but intending to save and eventually to acquire clear a home, a shop, or an investment, and the mortgage acts as a spur instead of a weight. Hence he is considered a good "moral risk" in the matter of mortgage loans. He is besides steadily advancing into the field of the larger real estate and building operations.

The field of criminal law presents some interesting features. There is a considerable amount of this class of litigation. There was a time when the presence of a Jew in the criminal court was of exceeding rarity; it is not so now. Yet this important fact must be remembered; as noted above, when the Russian Jew does appear his striking individuality will stand out in such strong relief as to leave a lasting impression and draw many to the conclusion that the Jew is occupying a considerable part of the time of the criminal court. The writer has heard court officers speak in this way; they forget the thousands of cases in which men of no special peculiarity appeared in court but remember with great vividness the Jews who pass before them. This is understandable, but quite wrong. An illustration of how this alien appearance works against the Jew may not be out of place. If a Jew in business difficulty should confess judgment to those whom he wishes to prefer among his creditors, the fact would be remembered, while if it were done by a non-Jew, no one would remember it as a tendency of the particular class. Recently a large corporation with public purposes confessed judgment in favor of certain creditors who were also its managers and officers; by this process a large number of claims against the company were effectually rendered worthless. The matter attracted passing attention but it will certainly not be stigmatized as a characteristic of the people who effected this highly inequitable result. Yet the incident was as flagrant as any that could be cited.

An examination of the kind of crimes prevalent among Jews reveals no cause for serious alarm. The majority are assault and battery cases of a trivial description and

they arise quite naturally. The living together in large numbers, several families in a house, the keen business rivalry, bring, with a people of the excitable, nervous temperament of the Jew, frequent occasions when high words pass and—infrequently—a blow is struck;—infrequently because in many cases the whole trouble is mere hot language and threatening gestures. As the slightest touching in anger is in technical law a battery, ample material for a prosecution on the part of an angry man or woman is provided. Not unusually the other party, spurred on by the institution of legal proceeding and as a measure of protection by way of counter offense, institutes a cross-charge, and it is found that a large proportion of these Russian Jewish assault and battery cases consists of counter bills. The result is generally that by the time the matter comes to court, both parties, now in cooler blood, are heartily sick of the whole matter, a better feeling ensues, and both cases are submitted by agreement and dropped. When they proceed so far as a trial, it generally results in the jury acquitting both sides, being unable to determine from the conflicting evidence who is guilty; the presumption of innocence until guilt is proven controls and there is a happy ending for the contestants. But not infrequently the mediation of some cool-headed friend, who makes an appeal to their good “Jewish feeling,” produces the desired result of peace.

These conclusions are not merely the result of collated opinions of those informed on the subject, but are verified by statistical data. The result of one hundred and sixty assault and battery cases against Jewish defendants tried in the Philadelphia courts in one year was but twenty-nine convictions and one hundred and thirty-one acquittals.

Other crimes committed by Jews are quite below the proportion in the whole community. Some of them grow out of the Jew's prominence in business. Cases of larceny by bailee arise, as where in a dispute over the amount due by a manufacturer of clothing to a finisher, the finisher retains the articles until he is paid, and the manufacturer causes his arrest. These are really civil disputes, which, however, may be brought technically within a criminal statute; they are generally settled amicably. Isolated cases of embezzlement, forgery, larceny, malicious mischief, conspiracy, receiving stolen goods and the like, sometimes

technically, sometimes substantially true, occur, but they are not unduly frequent.

Before the institution of the juvenile court, a considerable number of larceny cases appeared against Jews; so also a fair number of malicious mischief cases. Many of these were cases of petty depredations by boys which would now be met by the more adequate remedies of the juvenile court. It is true that the once unsullied name of the Jew is not now unspotted, but the fault is not so much with the Jew as with those trying conditions, for which he is not responsible, under which these deplorable results have appeared. The tyranny practiced against him in his old home and the utterly different conditions of American life to which he is suddenly transported, conditions of bad housing and the like, and the demands of a business world whose prevailing standards are not always of the highest, demanding tense vigilance and strenuous zeal, contribute to the cause.

Data of tried cases in a year show the following results: Twenty cases of obtaining money or a valuable thing by cheating or misrepresentation showed four convictions and sixteen acquittals; four cases of receiving stolen goods resulted in one conviction and three acquittals; five cases of perjury resulted in no convictions and five acquittals; of arson not a single case was found during the year in question; homicide is almost unknown.

If the keeping of bawdy houses and prostitution, once practically unknown among Jews, have made their appearance in Philadelphia as in other American cities, it is to be remembered that the former freedom of the Jews from these evils rather over-emphasizes their spread.

Some curious violations of the criminal law and the laws of marriage occur through reliance upon the provisions of the Jewish law, in ignorance of the law of the state. The *gett* (divorce) duly granted according to the Jewish law, is of course of no avail in the courts here, though it is in Russia.

Similarly cases of marriage within consanguineous degrees forbidden by the state law but allowed by the Jewish law and innocently contracted, have arisen. No disposition of the authorities to punish innocent defendants in such cases appears. The rabbis have taken some steps to prevent this conflict of laws, one suggestion being a

refusal to grant the Jewish divorce until the civil divorce has been obtained.

The following data of the inmates of prisons and reform institutions in Philadelphia are of interest:

In the Eastern Penitentiary (prisoners committing the graver crimes in the eastern part of Pennsylvania are sent to this prison) there were on November 17, 1904, in all 1,121 prisoners, of whom 20 were Jews, a percentage of 1.78, which is very small as compared with the percentage of population, which is 7.7 per cent. Of these, 11 or not quite one per cent. of the whole number of prisoners, were Jews of Eastern Europe, Russia, Austria, etc.; 7 were Jews born in the United States, one in England, and one in Scotland. The nativity of the parentage of these has not been ascertained. The following were the crimes committed by the Eastern European Jews: Murder 1,¹ larceny and receiving 1, larceny and entering 2, burglary, larceny and horse stealing 1, false pretenses 1, forgery 1, counterfeiting 1, assault and battery with intent to rape 1, distilling whisky without giving bond 1, breaking and entering 1.

In the Philadelphia county prison the total number of convicts (December 12, 1904) was 509, of whom 18, or 3.54 per cent., were Jews. Of these, 12, or 2.36 per cent., of the total number of prisoners, were born in Russia, 3 in the United States, 2 in Germany and 1 in England. The following were the charges: Larceny 6, aggravated assault and battery 2, forgery 3, receiving stolen goods 3, robbery 2, burglary 1, involuntary manslaughter 1.

Grouping these data it is found that Jews are inmates of the prisons for serious crimes to the extent of 2.66 per cent., while the Jew's percentage of the population is 7.7 per cent., or nearly three times as great.

Juvenile delinquency among Russian Jews has perhaps aroused the most discussion. The causes of this are again largely economic; housing conditions are bad; the parents are hard-working and too busy with earning the livelihood to pay sufficient attention to their children, who, left to themselves, learn idle or vicious habits on the streets and in the thousand ways of imitative childhood. Besides many children very early help in the family support and as newsboys in large numbers on the streets and in the

¹ As noted above, it is an isolated case.

lower classes of employment are deprived of the opportunity of refining influences. In addition, the child, quickly Americanized, speedily finds a gulf between itself and its parents in respect of religious and other sentiments, and the parental authority grows less and less of a restraint. The juvenile court, with its system of probation officers, and Jewish agencies and the settlements and other kindred institutions, is working acceptably with this condition.

In the House of Refuge for boys at Glen Mills, Pa. (which is a high grade corrective institution and not a prison), out of a total of 766 inmates, 61, or 7.96 per cent., were Jews, almost all of whom were Eastern European. Of these, twenty-seven were charged with larceny, twenty-four with incorrigibility and the others with various delinquencies, such as running away from home, fighting, keeping bad company, malicious mischief, and the like.

In the Girls' House of Refuge, out of a total of 127 inmates, 8, or 3.81 were Jewish, all charged with being incorrigible.

There is no specifically Jewish institution to receive delinquent children, but Jewish organizations are providing private places for their care. There is no doubt that the previous rarity of delinquency of this kind among Jews accentuates the dismay felt at its recent manifestation. As economic conditions better for the Jew, however, and as some of the agencies now at work grow in influence and assist where the parents are unable to influence, the matter will be adjusted.

The Russian Jew on the whole appears in a favorable light from the standpoint of the law. Such criticisms as may be made are apt to be exaggerated, and where just should rather be made against conditions for which he is not responsible and of which he is the victim. He has not lost his character as, and is pre-eminently, a law-abiding citizen, earnestly interested in the welfare of the state, and no less keenly alive to his civic responsibilities than to his civic privileges.

(C) CHICAGO

I shall first review the litigation most common amongst Russian Jews in the civil branch of the courts. They are: Suits growing out of contracts of bargain and sale of merchandise, personal injuries, matters relating to personal property, marriage and divorce, real property, bankruptcy.

A little more than half of the Jewish population in the city of Chicago are engaged in the mercantile business and hence disputes often arise as to the quality of the goods, manner and time of delivery and similar matters. Suits are also frequently brought for goods sold and delivered. In most of the cases, there is generally a good and bona fide defense. Cases of this kind seldom go by default, unless the defendant be a bankrupt, or contemplates bankruptcy. The courts, however, are not much bothered with litigation of this class. A great many of the cases are tried and disposed of by arbitration, or are submitted to the orthodox Jewish rabbis for decision. In this connection, it is worth while mentioning that the orthodox Jewish rabbis of this city have organized a tribunal with all the formalities and forms prescribed by the Talmudic law, which has proven a blessing to the Jewish community in keeping the people out of courts. Matters are disposed of with great dispatch and all parties interested seem to be always satisfied.

Personal Injuries. Since so large a portion of the Jewish population is engaged in industrial pursuits, working in factories of every description, which are operated by dangerous machinery, many become injured in the usual course of such employments. The number of injured Russian Jews is augmented by the terrible condition of the street car system of the city of Chicago. It is a noteworthy fact that during working hours it requires a great effort for a workingman to reach home. Conductors do not stop at the crossings, the cars are always overcrowded; people become maimed in their efforts to either get on or off the cars. As a consequence considerable litigation is

pending in our courts in behalf of Russian Jews, growing out of personal injury sustained by them, either during their employment or while going or coming from work. There are very few suits of this kind pending against them as defendants.

Marriage and Divorce. There is considerable litigation in the courts growing out of the relation of husband and wife. Hasty marriages and marriages on the part of girls for the sake of quitting work in the sweat-shops or other undesirable factory places, without regard to the fitness and temperament of contracting parties, are in a great measure responsible for this condition, but with all this, it cannot be said that there is a greater percentage of divorce cases than among other nationalities in Chicago.

Real Estate. To judge of the progress that Russian Jews have made in this city, we must take into consideration the large extent of real estate acquired by them within the last fifteen years. It may be said with a certainty that 65 per cent. of all the real property in the so-called Ghetto district, comprising the portions of the Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, Eighteenth, Nineteenth and Twentieth Wards occupied by Russian Jews, is owned by them. This is exclusive of real estate owned by Russian Jews in other parts of the city of Chicago and county of Cook. It is natural that men owning real estate should have disputes with tenants and hence litigation growing out of the relationship of landlord and tenant, but during all my experience as a practicing attorney among Russian Jews I did not find one case of a heartless landlord in the true sense of the word, but in most instances there were circumstances, some in favor of the plaintiff and others in that of the defendant, which at least justify litigation in court. The proportion of suits of this kind is considerably less among Russian Jews than among other classes of citizens in the city of Chicago.

Bankruptcy. The Russian Jew arriving in this country without capital usually establishes his business with a small capital, saved up as result of hard work. A recent immigrant, he is not in a condition to enable him to scrutinize business transactions without blunder. He is not yet up to the nice business tricks practiced by the Boards of Trade and the great financiers and business men of America, who are so proficient in organizing trusts and corporations. Therefore he frequently mistakes the course of action nec-

essary in his business ventures and as a consequence is sometimes led into bankruptcy. Russian Jews were therefore obliged to avail themselves of the benefit of the bankruptcy law. An investigation of the clerk's office of the district court of the United States in Chicago discloses the fact that every Russian Jew who filed a petition in bankruptcy was granted a discharge by the courts, thus showing a presumptive absence of fraud in business transactions.

Crimes. There were a number of cases tried in the police courts against Russian Jews, in which men were charged with abandonment of wife and children, but in most cases the magistrates effected a reconciliation and the charge was dropped. I could find no record in the criminal court of any case against a Russian Jew charged with abduction of an unmarried female. No indictments were found in the year 1904 against a Russian Jew or Jewess on the statutory crime of abortion. No convictions were had in the criminal court on the charge of adultery.

The oft-repeated charge of arson against the Jews finds no substantiation in the annals of the criminal court of Cook County. During the year 1904 not a single Jew was indicted by the grand jury on a charge of arson. The police courts in the Ghetto districts are often called upon to try cases of assault and battery, but in a majority of instances there is no prosecution when these cases are called for trial. There were three convictions of Russian Jews in the criminal court, during the years of 1903 and 1904 on the charge of bigamy; they were brought about by the energetic action of the United Hebrew Charities. There were no indictments against Russian Jews on the charge of bribery within the last fifteen years. There were three cases of burglary against Russian Jews during the year 1904, resulting in two convictions.

Four Russian Jews were convicted during the years 1903 and 1904 for conspiracy to commit an illegal act. Cases of embezzlement and extortion by threats were quite rare; while there might have been cases of this kind in the police courts very few of them ever reached the criminal court. There were a number of cases in the criminal court against Russian Jews on the charge of obtaining goods under false pretenses, but in most instances there were acquittals. There were no convictions of any Russian Jew on the charge of forgery in the criminal court within the last three

years. Ten Russian Jews were convicted for bucket-shopping. Two Russian Jews were tried and convicted in 1904 for manslaughter. In both cases, insanity was the defense. During the entire history of the criminal court of Chicago there was not a single case of a Russian Jew on the charge of incest or kidnapping. About twenty Russian Jews, mostly junk dealers, pawn-brokers, and second-hand dealers, were indicted during the year 1904 for receiving stolen property. One of the convicted men was sentenced to the penitentiary and the others received jail sentences and were fined. There were no convictions on charges of malicious mischief and mayhem, and no indictments for perjury were returned during the year 1904. Not a single Russian Jew was convicted on the charge of vagrancy.

Violations of City Ordinances. It is a fundamental principle of law that everybody is supposed to know the law and that ignorance of the law is no excuse. The word "law" includes the common law, constitutional law, statutory and municipal ordinances.

It is monstrous to suppose that a Russian Jew, a recent immigrant, should know all these laws, much less the municipal ordinances which are passed at one session of the city council and repealed at another. (In this connection, I call attention to the legal absurdity, that while everybody is supposed to know of the existence of municipal ordinances, the judge who tries the case is not supposed to know that such an ordinance in fact exists. He takes no judicial notice of a municipal ordinance unless it has been exhibited to him in proper form and proved up in accordance with all the rules of evidence.)

It is therefore natural that there should be violations of municipal ordinances, because of the ignorance of the people of the existence of such ordinances, and not necessarily because of a desire to violate them. Russian Jews are frequently the victims of police officers, who delight in arresting for a violation of a city ordinance with prospect of the harvest of the ward politicians and professional bailers, who are always on hand to help out a "friend."

The information furnished above is based upon personal investigation and knowledge of the writer with litigation among Russian Jews during a law practice, in the city of Chicago, for the past twelve years.

XI
DISTRIBUTION

BY DAVID M. BRESSLER

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DISTRIBUTION

A consideration of the status of any people would be incomplete without determining the effect of their geographical situation. This is particularly applicable to the Jews, because of their remarkable adaptability to environment. The Jew in America is still a stranger in a strange land. True, there are a few who can boast of two or three generations in this country, but they are largely in the minority.

There is only one noteworthy tendency that can be observed in the distribution of the Jews in this country that is different from the tendencies in other large classes of immigrants. Scandinavian immigrants, for instance, are largely found in one section of the country, in the wheat-fields of the Northwest. Italians are where there is need for laborers in gangs or for what might be termed itinerant labor. The Slavs from Russia and Austria are in the mining districts. These three large classes of immigrants move along simple, well-defined lines. The distribution of the Jews, though not so well defined on the surface, is due to tendencies that are peculiar to himself. Having been a city-dweller for centuries, the love for city life is strong within him. We cannot therefore expect to find him on the prairies of the West, in the coal mines of the East or the plantations of the South. We see him in the larger cities of the country, New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, San Francisco and others nearly as large; and wherever he is found in the smaller towns and villages, the original settlement, we can rest assured, was made by those whose headquarters had first been a large city in the vicinity.

This being practically the only phenomenon to be observed in the distribution of the Jew in America, how meagre was our knowledge of the situation, and how unsatisfactory and discouraging to those who realized that the peculiar conditions attendant upon the large influx of Jews and their consequent congestion in the sea-port towns

made it necessary that they be distributed. Either the courage of those who undertook the enterprise must be commended or the pressing need deplored, or, perhaps, both. Artificial distribution was begun four years ago and the movement, self-styled "Industrial Removal," has become known in every city and town in the country where Jews are to be found. Whether this stimulated distribution will show results markedly different from those consequent upon a more natural distribution cannot, of course, be accurately determined for some time. Be that as it may, however, the movement itself is most interesting and the results thus far obtained will be instructive in throwing some little light upon the question as a whole.

In consequence of the many restrictive laws of Roumania, there began in the year 1900 a large influx of Roumanian Jews into this country. The normal Jewish immigration then averaged about 45,000 annually, the majority of whom remained in New York, which city already at that time contained over 500,000. This large immigration has been going on since 1881; over 70 per cent. of those who arrived in the United States remained in New York. One of the results of this movement was the gradual congestion of the immigrant population in one part of the city, called the East Side. So much has been published of the conditions prevailing in the so-called New York Ghetto that it is not necessary here to dwell upon them.

Those who were actively interested in the question of Jewish immigration realized that, though the conditions in Roumania demanded the continuance of this immigration, it was essential to divert the stream away from New York. They understood, too, that the problem of Jewish immigration to the United States was not local merely because the vast majority of ocean steamships disembarked their human cargoes in the harbor of New York. They argued that these people do not come to New York; they come to America, and so the question of immigration is of national interest; that is to say, it was incumbent on Jews all over the country to help bear the burden of caring for these friendless refugees and making them self-supporting. The plan to be pursued, therefore, must be one by which the immigrants were to be distributed all over the country, in towns where economic and industrial conditions are better than in the metropolis.

The question that arose in the minds of these men was

how to arouse the Jewish communities to a sense of their duty in accepting as many as they had reasonable assurance of placing in self-supporting positions. What agency could be employed that would effectively reach these communities? The answer to this query was the Independent Order B'nai B'rith. It was peculiarly fitted to undertake the stupendous task of distributing these immigrants upon their arrival by virtue of its character as a strong and comprehensive organization, represented in most important towns and cities in the Union. The Executive Committee of the B'nai B'rith issued bulletins to the various lodges in the West and South, explaining the situation, earnestly requesting them to organize in such a way as to make it possible to effect the purpose in view. As a result of the encouraging assurance of co-operation on the part of these lodges, a committee was organized in New York for the purpose of handling the situation in systematic fashion. This committee established a local office, whose business it became to open communication with the lodges which had responded, and to prosecute the work of distribution practically.

In a short time it was discovered that there were many difficulties in the way of conducting this work successfully, by no means the least of which was the necessity of overcoming the unwillingness of the newly-arrived Roumanians to leave New York after they had found friends and relatives there. Owing to this difficulty, and also to the fact that there were many Jews in New York from other countries who were also out of work, the subject acquired a new aspect. The conviction forced itself upon the minds of the committee that in order not to augment the congestion in New York, particularly in view of the fact that in addition to the Roumanians, there were thousands of Russians and Galicians constantly coming, it was necessary that a process of clearing the way should be put into execution. The number of Roumanians sent away was so small as hardly to affect the conditions here; and, as these conditions were not improving, it was decided to extend the privilege to all of our co-religionists who were out of work and who showed promise of becoming self-supporting. This conviction showed itself in a practical manner in the establishment of the Industrial Removal Office in February of 1901.

Removal work was undertaken with well-defined purposes

in view. On the one hand it was to assist in making self-supporting those unemployed Jews of New York who were willing to go West or South. On the other hand these persons were to become the centres of attraction for others in Europe who were destined for the United States. That is to say, they were to become a means to divert those immigrants from New York to various points in the interior who would under any circumstances come to this country, and who would otherwise take up their domicile in New York. As far as the former function is concerned, the Industrial Removal Office is a philanthropic institution seeking to better the social and economic conditions of New York Jews. The other purpose it is seeking to carry out is broader and has as its motive the desire to establish a permanent plan of relief for thousands of Jews, who in the aggregate present a serious problem to American Jewry. The movement in its conception is thoroughly rational and scientific, because it is, so to speak, cleansing and inoculating the entire body by local treatment, and in so doing it is at the same time helping to relieve the local distress.¹

Hon. Frank P. Sargent, Commissioner General of Immigration,² stated: "In my judgment the smallest part of the duty to be discharged in successfully handling alien immigrants with a view to the protection of the people and institutions of this country is that part now provided for by law. Its importance, though undeniable, is relatively of secondary moment. It cannot, for example, compare in practical value with, nor can it take the place of measures to insure the distribution of the many thousands who come in ignorance of the industrial needs and opportunities of this country, and, by a more potent law than that of supply and demand, which speaks to them here in an unknown tongue, colonizes alien communities in our great cities. Such colonies are a menace to the physical, moral and political security of the country. They are hotbeds for the propagation and growth of those false ideas of political and personal freedom, whose germs have been vitalized by ages of oppression under unequal and partial laws, which find their first concrete expression in resistance to the con-

¹ For detailed information of the actual results of removal work see reports of Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society for 1901, 1902 and 1903. See also paper read before Jewish Chautauqua Summer Assembly in 1903, and paper read before the Third Conference of Jewish Charities in the United States, New York, 1904.

² *Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, 1903*, p. 60.

stituted authority, even occasionally in the assassination of the lawful agents of that authority. They are the breeding grounds, also, of moral depravity; the centres of propagation of physical disease. Above all, they are the congested places in the industrial body which check the free circulation of labor to those parts where it is most needed and where it can be most benefited. Do away with them and the greatest peril of immigration will be removed."

The Commissioner's official recommendation was anticipated when the Removal Office was established; that is to say, artificial distribution is of itself one of the strongest advocates of unrestricted immigration and will continue to be so as long as it is effective. Whether the Removal Office has been effective in carrying out its objects can be judged by the actual results thus far obtained. Though four years seem a very short time in which to pass upon the results of the work, it is not excessive enthusiasm that prompts those engaged in it to say that it has evolved out of its experimental stage and has shown its necessity for continuing, so long as large numbers of Jews emigrate. Of course the movement must be judged in its two aspects. As a philanthropic undertaking it has assisted over 16,000 persons to become self-supporting, who before were on the verge of dependency. So far as its second function is concerned, the results, though not quite so definite, are still encouraging to a surprising degree, as those results were not expected to be seen for years to come. The percentage of those Jewish immigrants who remained in the city in the years 1898 and 1899 was 79.9 per cent. and 79.2 per cent. respectively. These, it should be noted, are the two years preceding the establishment of the Removal Office. In the year 1903, two years thereafter, the percentage of immigrants who remained in New York was 71.9 per cent., showing that about 8 per cent. more left for the interior in that year than in 1898 and 1899. Though this is not conclusive evidence that the diversion of Jewish immigration has been effected so quickly, yet this discrepancy is due in a large degree to this artificial distribution. The records of the Removal Bureau also show a large number of persons that went into the interior directly from Europe to persons originally sent away by the Bureau from New York, who for the most part would have come to the seaport metropolis had their relatives remained there.

The results could have been much more imposing were

it not for a two-fold obstacle that has largely hampered the activities of the Bureau. It has taxed the energies of the management to the utmost to adjust and reconcile in every practical and legitimate manner the prejudice and timidity of the immigrant with the same qualities — in a different form — as the majority of the people of the interior communities. It has been a process mainly of gaining the confidence of the beneficiary on the one hand and of the benefactor on the other. The interior communities, realizing in a large degree the extreme and pressing necessity for the work, still failed at the beginning to thoroughly grasp the situation; there was a sentimental desire on their part to help the refugees from Eastern European oppression, but when they found that the practical manner of helping them along the lines of the Removal Office meant not only sacrifice of time and money, but real annoyance and disagreeable experiences, then their charitable sentiment received a shock, from which some have not recovered to this day. Industrial conditions all over the country have also been such as to force restrictions upon orders for people and prevented the removal of some deserving persons who have been so unfortunate as not to come within the requirements demanded by the communities of the interior. All this has been the great difficulty on the one side. The obstacle to be met with in New York, on the other, has been the unwillingness on the part of the majority of the people to leave the city. Not merely have the attractions of the wonderful seaport metropolis held them back, but ignorance and consequent fear of the unknown and mysterious have largely deterred them from applying at the Bureau. Only such as have been possessed of a comparatively fearless and independent character, or who have received encouraging reports from friends or relatives in the interior have had the courage to ask that they be sent away. This forced selection, artificial in a large measure, will probably show results different from that brought about by a natural distribution. What this difference will be is hard to conjecture.

The Bureau has attempted to settle some of the more promising men in the small towns of the South and the West where few or no Jews are found. In a number of cases such settlement has been permanent, but better success can be obtained in settling the people in the smaller towns when such towns are within a reasonable distance of some large

city. The Bureau's experience has shown that the best results can be obtained where the artificial distribution observes as closely as possible the natural law of distribution mentioned before. Indeed, of late the exigencies of the work have also helped to gradually develop a system of agencies in the large cities, which already have begun to place a portion of those sent them to the small towns and villages in their immediate vicinities.

Though this law of distribution is practically the only definite phenomenon that has appeared, it cannot be doubted that the movement contains far-reaching possibilities. What the effect of this distribution will be ethnically, what it will be religiously, as well as what it will be economically are questions of intense interest, which unfortunately cannot be answered at the present time.

Then, too, the question can be viewed from the subjective standpoint; that is, not merely as to the effect upon those removed, but what will it be upon those who are good enough to receive them? Among the many communities that have been enlisted in the cause of removal and who co-operate with warmth and sympathy with the Bureau are such as were practically altogether isolated from the rest of American Jewry until after the visit of the Bureau's representative. Such a visit not only succeeded in arousing their interest in removal work, but encouraged interest in other Jewish questions. In other words "removal" has already shown itself to be a factor in arousing among our country cousins what is commonly called, in the pulpit, a Jewish consciousness.

It is too obvious to require comment that a great many dependents apply at charitable institutions who are out of employment because there is no work to be found in their peculiar line. However, there may be a demand for workmen of just such trades in other cities in the Union. That is to say, much poverty is caused by the immobility of labor, and "inter-removal," so to speak, is a method of reducing this evil. For the present, of course, no such general scheme of removal would be justifiable in view of the pressing needs of the seaport metropolis, which is laboring under the enormous burden of a stupendous immigration. But should the happy time come when the stream of immigration is successfully diverted from New York to many points in the interior, then such a scheme would undoubtedly be instrumental in helping a great many poor,

deserving persons and families in becoming self-supporting, and in a manner containing elements of smaller danger than any other form of charity.

The immigration of nearly one million Jews to this country since 1881 has made necessary various plans for their welfare, of which that for their distribution throughout the country should receive hearty encouragement.

XII

RURAL SETTLEMENTS

(A) EASTERN STATES

BY JACOB G. LIPMAN, PH. D.

*Soil Chemist and Bacteriologist
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(B) WESTERN STATES

BY RABBI A. R. LEVY

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RURAL SETTLEMENTS

(A) EASTERN STATES

THE SOUTH JERSEY COLONIES

The southern part of New Jersey contains vast stretches of stunted pine and scrub oak. Traveling from Camden over the West Jersey and Seashore Railroad one soon comes into the heart of this region, the home of the garter snake and the hare. The silence of the tangled plain is unbroken save for the woodman's axe and the noise of the passing trains. Occasionally isolated farms and small villages come into view, and as they are passed the struggling vegetation again stands out against the arching sky. The train rushes on to the coast, but before the song of the ocean is heard many a mile of bushland must be passed. In the winter and in the early spring the piercing northern winds find little to stay their course; they wail and bluster among the helpless pines; they sing their sombre song down the chimney until one feels chilly and sad. In the late spring and summer the skies are sunny and mild; there is the briny flavor of the ocean in the air, the breeze laden with memories of the sea is tender and caressing. But for the inexorable mosquito one could wish for no kinder starry nights, with their fragrance, their indefinite noises, and their passing music. Then come those incomparable autumn evenings whose coolness does not chill one, but the warm, moist breath of the sea fills the heart with dreams and contentment. The same moon that smiles on the ocean and plays with its waves raises misty shapes over the sandy plain, listens to the song of the whip-poor-will, and to the striduous unceasing music of the cricket hosts. Such is the region where Russian Jews have sought to gain a livelihood from a not over-rich soil.

The first attempts at colonization in South Jersey date back to the early eighties of the nineteenth century. With an enthusiasm that often amounted to a creed, men from

different walks of life worked side by side, dreaming of the regeneration of a race too long excluded from the field and the forest. Alliance, Carmel, Rosenhayn, and finally Woodbine grew up and led an existence unique in the history of the race. Had the land been more responsive there would have been fewer neglected acres; as it is the many flourishing farms conquered from the wilderness by Jewish hands bear witness that from among the exiles from Russia there were men of earnest and steadfast purpose who shrunk from no hardship. Many years of self-denial and of unceasing toil have borne their fruit, and while one rejoices with those who succeeded, one cannot help thinking regretfully of those who found themselves compelled to give up the unequal struggle, and returned to the city and the tenement house.

The spring of 1882 marked the arrival of the first Jewish settlers in South Jersey. In the place now called Alliance twenty-five families undertook to do the pioneer work of the settlement. The tract of land, comprising eleven hundred acres, was purchased for the purpose by the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society. It was for the most part a wilderness of bushland, and the few small areas that showed signs of a once attempted cultivation had again returned to their primitive state. Alliance is located in Pittsgrove township, county of Salem. It is thirty-three miles from Philadelphia, as the crow flies, rather less than five miles from Vineland, about nine miles from Millville, and almost ten miles from Bridgeton. Carmel and Rosenhayn, situated within a few miles of Alliance, were founded in 1883; the former by Michael Heilprin, the latter by the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society. Carmel and Rosenhayn are both situated in Cumberland county, the one between Millville and Bridgeton, the other between Bridgeton and Alliance. Finally in 1891, the Woodbine colony was founded by the Baron de Hirsch Fund. Woodbine is in Cape May county, fifty-six miles from Camden and twenty-five miles from Cape May City. Within nine miles of Woodbine is Sea Isle City, and Ocean City is sixteen miles distant. The early days of Alliance, Carmel, Rosenhayn, and even Woodbine had many features in common. They needed all the enthusiasm and determination of the would-be farmers, for it soon became evident that there were almost innumerable difficulties before them. The land had to be cleared and made fit to receive the seed, and months were to pass before

any returns could be expected. Meanwhile they were obliged to live in barns or in over-crowded houses. Provisions were scarce, the roads were poor. In Alliance the colonists lived during the first year on \$8 to \$12 a month given to them by the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society. In Carmel and Rosenhayn they found what work they could with the neighboring farmers or secured tailoring work from the city. In Woodbine they were more fortunate in that there was enough to do for everybody in clearing a part of the fifty-three hundred acre tract of land, digging cellars, cutting out streets, building roads, and the like. It was hard work, especially for those not used to outdoor life. Yet with all the privations of overcrowded quarters, unsatisfactory food, and lack of warm clothing in the winter months, few complaints were heard. The work on the wind-swept plain was hard, but the management paid living wages and the colonists bore their hardships cheerfully. However, there came a time in the life of Woodbine — as it did with Carmel, Alliance, and Rosenhayn, — when the future seemed full of gloom. When the poor, wild soil did not yield what it could not yield, when willing hands failed to find work that would help fill the bread basket, and when the aid of charity had to be invoked; then there was but little sunshine to cheer the dismal gloom. And the colonists had reason to feel discouraged. Theirs was a thin, shifting soil, which ages ago had been sorted and resorted by the waves, and the ocean was chary about leaving it little besides the rounded grains of quartz which compose 98 per cent. of the soil. Long years of hopeless toil, theirs and their children's, were before them, and after all that work honestly and conscientiously performed what would they have? Unlike the fertile plains of the northwest, or the *Tchernosyem* of southern Russia, these South Jersey soils call for the application of manures or of commercial fertilizers, and without them they yield scarcely anything. But even with these in their possession the colonists were at a disadvantage. The use of artificial manures requires considerably more knowledge of the soil and of soil conditions than where none are used. The colonists had not that knowledge, nor the knowledge of market conditions in the large cities, or even adequate local markets. Yet if the South Jersey colonies are to attain prosperity as agricultural colonies, or if they are to retain that measure of prosperity which they have already achieved, they must have

local markets. It will be shown below that such markets can be had. As to the New York and Philadelphia markets, the colonists found that their produce had to compete with the harvests of the alluvial soils of the east and the south, and the owners of these soils had the experience, the means, and the favorable railroad rates that the South Jersey settlers did not possess. The survival of the four colonies is due to the establishment of factories. In Alliance a cigar factory and later a shirt factory were in operation during the early years. In Carmel and Rosenhayn, the shirt, wrapper, and clothing factories which were in operation at one time or another made possible the agricultural development that has taken place. In Woodbine the establishment of a village and factories was provided for by the founders. Men with large families could send some of their members to the factory while the others worked on the farm; men of small families could sell their produce to those who had none.

The men who came to live in the South Jersey colonies hailed from many parts of European Russia. Poland and Great Russia were well represented, but the greatest number came from South Russia — such as Bessarabia, Podolia, Volhynia, Kiev. Their antecedents were as different as their birth-places. There were among them men who had farmed to some extent in Russia. There were those who had lived in villages and traded there and had become familiar with farming life. There were skilled laborers and small shop-keepers. Among the younger men there were also a few who had enjoyed some educational advantages and were carried to the settlements by their enthusiasm, the desire to help the return of the Jew to agricultural life. This heterogeneous mass, coming as it did from many places, and from different stations in life, was made homogeneous by a common purpose. The early days of the colonies, with their communal life, were marked with a feeling of solidarity. Even the most ignorant settler was not a stranger to the sentiment of a common purpose. In every colony early provision was made for public buildings, and the synagogue and the public school rose side by side. Notwithstanding the similar conditions of settlement, the three older colonies soon came to have very distinctive peculiarities. Alliance from the first devoted more time to agriculture; the appearance of its people, their mode of living, showed the farmer; while in Carmel and Rosenhayn the

greater predominance of the tailoring trades showed itself in the physique and to some extent in the radical views that one finds among the factory employees in the East Side of New York.

The life in the South Jersey colonies has produced a visible effect on their inhabitants. It has influenced the thought and action of the older people, it has molded the character and the ways of the young. It offers to both advantages which would not be at their disposal in a large city. Of the settlers in Woodbine seventy-five per cent. own their homes, as do one-half of those in Rosenhayn. The factory life for those who are obliged to work in the factory is not as injurious to health as in the large cities, for the ventilation is better, the space allotted to each is greater, the light and sunshine have more easy access. The relations between employer and employee are more personal, the individual is a more important part of the population and his direct participation in communal affairs reacts favorably on him. If there are no rich men in the colonies, there are also no poor — poor as measured by the standards of the New York Ghetto. The neighbors know one another and are always willing to help those who are less fortunate than themselves. But above all there are the great advantages to the young. The young lungs expand freely in the bracing air; the young eyes roam freely over the wide expanse of field and forest; the young legs run as they will. With the free skies above them, with a healthy home atmosphere surrounding them, with the duties of citizenship instilled into them, and the love for their country growing with them as they grow, they are laying the foundations for normal and useful membership in society. Should the time come when they shall long for a wider sphere of activity than their native village affords, they can go forth equipped in strength and vitality.

With all these advantages there are conditions which place the colonists at a great disadvantage. Those of their number who work in the factory have a very limited field of employment. When the house becomes too small for the farmer he must get along as best he can; when the factory in which his children are employed is idle he is often obliged to run into debt. When his children grow up and find no congenial occupation in the small village they leave him to go to the city to live among strangers and to be exposed to its many temptations. When the crops fail

he often finds himself obliged to sell his horse or his cow, and must at times walk miles in order to reach the nearest store or the post-office. He has not as many creature comforts as his city cousin, nor has he his discomforts.

Local differences occur in the soils of Alliance, Carmel, Rosenhayn, and Woodbine, but on the whole, they belong to the same type of soils with a common geological history. The prevailing type is a sandy soil to sandy loam with a clayey to gravelly sub-soil. The underdrainage is excellent and the upper soil, being light and porous, is seldom in danger of becoming waterlogged. Thanks to the splendid underdrainage and openness, the soil is mellow and warm and admirably adapted for the raising of early truck and berries. On the other hand, it is more liable to suffer and actually does suffer in dry seasons for lack of moisture, because of its slight waterholding power. Such is not the case with the heavier soils of North Jersey. Owing to its lightness and shifting character, the surface soil is apt to be blown away by the strong winds in winter and spring. For this reason it is best not to plow the land in the fall and to keep it covered with some crop during the winter.

The crops raised in the colonies for the local and more distant markets are berries and grapes, tomatoes, sweet potatoes, and fruit. These are the more important crops, and many other crops are raised to a slighter extent. The South Jersey peaches are famed for their delicious flavor; Vineland peaches always find ready buyers, and the Woodbine peaches are fully as good. Then there are sweet potatoes, which have not their equal outside of New Jersey, and they command a correspondingly higher price in the market. The farmers in the colonies raise large quantities of berries, notably strawberries. Part of these are made into wine and have a limited but appreciative circle of patrons. Grape wine is produced in large quantity, particularly in Alliance. Many gallons are sold in New York and Philadelphia, the greater part to supply the Passover trade. It is claimed by competent judges that some of the port wine from the South Jersey colonies is superior to that from California.

In the spring of 1900 a canning factory was established in Alliance. Its short career has already demonstrated its great usefulness and the results that may be expected. There have been canned strawberries, blackberries, cherries, pears, apples, peaches, plums, beans, peas, beets, tomatoes,

sweet potatoes, and in smaller quantity, grapes, corn, citrons, huckleberries, cranberries, and gooseberries. The Allivine Company, which owns the canning factory, is also trying to give object lessons on its own farm, and has established lecture courses on agricultural topics. The Jewish farmers thus find a local market for their produce, are rendered independent of the commission merchant in the city, who is at times unscrupulous, and are, moreover, instructed in the proper methods of farming.

Dairying has been receiving considerable attention. The milk produced is sold in the local markets at satisfactory prices. Bridgeton, Vineland, and Millville are convenient markets for the three older colonies, while the milk produced in Woodbine is sold in the village of Woodbine itself, and to a slight extent at the seashore resorts. The dairy of the Baron de Hirsch Agricultural School, conducted according to the most modern methods, and producing milk of the finest quality, tried to run a milk wagon to Ocean City. The milk was in large demand, but the distance was too great and injurious to the horses, and it was therefore decided to dispose of the milk in Woodbine itself. There is no doubt, however, that the several dairymen in Woodbine could combine to establish a milk depot in Ocean City, shipping their milk by rail.

There are, probably, about 4,000 acres under cultivation in the colonies. In the three older settlements there are about 1,100 acres under field crops, 600 acres under truck, 550 acres under berries, and 250 acres under grapes. Of the three, Alliance is by far the most prosperous, and agriculturally the most important. Thus, the value of the Rosenhayn farms, with a total acreage of 1,800, is only about \$60,000, whereas that of the Alliance farms, with a total acreage of some 1,700, is about \$135,000; and the value of the products sold from the Alliance farms was greater than that of the others put together.

The colonies have not had a continuous growth. Periods of comparative prosperity alternated with periods of depression, depending largely upon the condition of the factories. Woodbine, like the rest, had its periods of depression; nevertheless, its growth has been more steady, and to-day it has a population of about 2,500 persons, while Alliance, Carmel, and Rosenhayn (including Carton Road), taken together, have a population of somewhat about 1,000,

and this, notwithstanding that they were founded nine years before Woodbine.

The original 25 families that came to Alliance in 1882 were joined by others until there were in all 67 families in the place. As the hardships increased, many became discouraged and by 1884 only 50 families remained. At this critical time aid was extended to the colonists, and the condition of the colony improved perceptibly. The crop returns gave additional encouragement leading to the increase of the cultivated area. In 1889 the total population was 529, and it has remained about the same. In 1889 the farmers owned 1,400 acres of land, of which 889 were under cultivation; in 1901 they owned 1,702 acres, of which 1,379 were under cultivation. These few figures indicate clearly enough that those of the Alliance settlers who remained on their farms gradually added to their holdings, and have extended their agricultural holdings.

In Carmel there were 16 families that came out in 1882; seven of these left in discouragement; others came to take their places, and the population changed from time to time until in 1889 there were 286 persons in the place. To the original tract of 848 acres 1,500 were added in 1889, and 36 new houses were erected. There are now about 600 persons. In 1889 there were 124 acres cleared; now more than 700.

In Rosenhayn there were 6 families in 1883. In 1889 there were 67 families, containing 294 persons. They owned 1,912 acres, of which 261 were under cultivation. The number of persons has not increased much. In 1901 they owned 1,862 acres, of which 662 were cleared.

In the late summer of 1891 a few men stepped from the train on the old wooden platform of the Woodbine station, located on the West Jersey Railroad. These were the vanguard of the settlers. There was not much to greet them. Three old dwellings stood along the Dennisville road, quite near the station; beyond and around them were the darkening woods. Save for the broad avenue along which their train was even then speeding towards the end of the Cape there was scarcely a dozen square rods free from the untamed oak and pine. As one looks from the new station platform over the hundreds of cottages, at the row of busy factories, and the straight streets with their poplars and maples, he would not recognize the wilderness of thirteen years ago. This is the industrial Woodbine, forming the nucleus

around which are clustered about 50 farms. The growth of the village has depended entirely on the growth of its industries, and the activity of the farmers has been regulated by the local market. Of the public buildings in Woodbine there are the Woodbine Central School building, which is used for municipal, educational and social purposes, and the synagogue. Near by is the Talmud Torah (Hebrew school). A Baptist church has been converted into a synagogue. Woodbine has the distinction of having established the first kindergarten in the county. Of the 250 houses in the village, nearly all are owned by the inhabitants. Twenty miles of streets have been laid out and partly graded; 12 miles of farm roads have been built, an electric light plant and pumping station have been established, a volunteer fire brigade has been organized. There are a large hotel in the village, three public schools besides the central school, a public bath house, a meeting hall, and two parks reserved from the forest area. The 50 families that came in 1891 increased in number by the influx of new arrivals until now there are about 2,500. Five building and loan associations have invested thousands of dollars in Woodbine real estate, thus proving their confidence in its stability and prosperity.

Throughout the colonies the mercantile pursuits that have arisen are rather insignificant. Grocery stores and meat markets have been started. Shoe stores, clothing stores, bakeries, and the like have been established to supply local needs. As a possible exception it may be admitted that some stores in Woodbine sometimes serve to supply the needs of neighboring villages. Moreover, the brick yard in Woodbine sells bricks outside of the village, and considerable quantities of cord wood are sold from Woodbine to the Millville, Vineland and other glass factories.

Recent statistics show that there are a considerable number of factories in the colonies. Alliance has a cloak factory and a canning factory; Rosenhayn has a clothing factory and a brick yard, and manufactures to some extent tinware and hoisery. Carmel has a clothing factory, and two others where ladies' waists and wrappers are manufactured. Woodbine has a clothing factory, a machine and tool plant, a hat factory, a shirt factory, a small cigar factory, a knitgoods factory, an establishment for making driven well points, and a brick yard.

As compared to the dormant existence of the small vil-

lages in South Jersey, the Jewish colonies are wide awake and progressive. There is a greater range of social questions discussed there. There is the consciousness of common aims. Political clubs, social clubs, literary societies, military organizations, benevolent organizations have been established, and many are contributing to a better and broader life. Though most of the voters have been naturalized in recent years they display an intelligent interest in national as well as in local politics. It may sound strange, yet it is true, that, unlike their neighbors, they consider national and international affairs above the local affairs. This seems to be characteristic of the Jew. He watches with deep concern the happenings in various countries, as if he felt himself a citizen of the whole world. World politics, the events which concern all men, are to him of paramount interest. It may be that his long wanderings have taught him to assume this mental attitude. It may be that this habit of thought is inherent in him, yet the visitor to Woodbine, for instance, can convince himself of the truth of the above observation. On a Saturday afternoon he will find the older people of the village gathered in the post-office or in the railroad station warmly discussing the happenings in Germany, France, or Russia. The sewing machine, the plow, or the lathe are forgotten for the moment. Dressed in his Sabbath clothes and wrapped in the Sabbath mood, he looks into the outside world and judges it according to his light. The Jewish newspaper informs him in Yiddish of the doings outside his own narrow sphere of activity and with this information as a basis he indulges in endless discussion.

It is otherwise with his children. Growing up as they do under freer skies, they imbibe something of the new spirit. The old traditions are not as infallible to them as to their fathers and their thoughts wander in other directions. For them the English newspaper replaces the Yiddish, the school history is a greater authority than oral tradition. And yet they are not altogether unmindful of this tradition. They stand between the old and the new. They are in a transition stage, and they partake of what their fathers are, and also of what their own children will be. They are Americans, with a touch of the foreign spirit still clinging to them, but somehow they do not seem to be the worse for it. Their home life is healthy, there is no viciousness, and little disobedience to established authority. They are fond of dancing, of private theatricals, and of social gatherings in gen-

eral. The factory atmosphere is often reflected in their mode of thought. It is no rare occurrence to see boys of fifteen or sixteen discussing in all seriousness some question in sociology, or political economy, of which they know little or nothing.

Most of the factories are closed on Saturday. The elders solemnly repair to the synagogue and as solemnly return when the services are over. The village is in a Sabbath spirit, peaceful yet joyous. When evening comes there is usually some entertainment.

Theft and drunkenness are practically unknown in the colonies, although wine and beer are consumed in considerable quantities. But there are features which are less fortunate and not at all commendable. One comes across ignorance and narrowness, stubbornness of spirit and uncleanness of person. Yet even these are not as frequent as they used to be. But there is one feature that deserves mention — this is the neighborly spirit, and the true charity that the colonists display. Quietly, unostentatiously, they help one another, often sharing the last crust of bread. When the severe winter days come, men often walk a long distance to cut some fire wood for a sick neighbor; women frequently walk for miles through the snow in order to bring food or money to a needy individual. The women in Woodbine have organized a Woman's Aid Society and the good work it is doing deserves commendation. Those who are inclined to accuse the Russian Jew of unwillingness to work, and of dependence upon charity, will find upon visiting the South Jersey colonies, only peaceful and industrious people always ready to work. There are no loafers, no tramps, no gamblers.

The colonists spend a considerable portion of their income on public buildings. They have their lodges, circulating libraries, evening schools, lecture courses and the like, and this healthy social and home life speaks well for the individuals and the community.

The many vicissitudes through which the colonists have passed have left their mark. Some of the earlier settlers have returned to the city population, and in their leisure moments recount perhaps the hardships which confronted them. It is for them to decide whether they acted wisely. But those who stayed have continued to do their work. They have not attained great wealth, nor great fame, but they have lived and honestly earned their bread.

Let those who have so generously worked to found the colonies remember that the mere withdrawing of people from the tenement districts in the great cities and their settling in the country is in itself a worthy work, and if there should be ten per cent., or even one per cent. of these settlers who entirely depend on farming, the work remains worthy. Let the colonies have more factories. The farmers will take care of themselves, and the greater the local demand for their produce, the greater will be the area under cultivation. If the liberal policy of inducing reliable manufacturers to establish themselves in Woodbine is continued by the Trustees of the Baron de Hirsch Fund there is little doubt that the next ten years will see considerable growth.

The experience of years brought out quite clearly the fact that it is practically impossible in many instances to convert a small trader into a farmer. The ancestral conditions and the habits of a lifetime cannot be changed at a moment's notice. Earnest as is the purpose of the would-be farmer, and great as is his determination, he very often finds himself obliged to admit that the opportunity has come to him too late in life. The occupation of a lifetime has unfitted him for farming. With this experience in mind the founders of the Baron de Hirsch Agricultural School at Woodbine have formulated a plan for the education of the children of immigrant Jews. In the few years of its existence the school has given ample proof of its usefulness. It aims to give its pupils a practical, agricultural education, in order that the graduates may (after an apprenticeship of some years with practical farmers) be competent to manage farms of their own. The school has now about 120 pupils, of whom about ten per cent. are girls. Theoretical instruction in the class-room is given together with practical work on the school farms, in the dairy, blacksmith shop, poultry houses, green houses, etc.

Independently of the Woodbine school, an agricultural school has been established at Doylestown, Pa. The curriculum is somewhat different from that of the Woodbine school, but its aim, as in the other case, is primarily the instruction of the children of immigrants in the arts of husbandry.

The work of these two institutions is watched with deep interest. The visitor to the schools, as he sees the boys working in the fields, or as he watches them in their moments of recreation, rushing a foot ball against the opposing line, or

running on a base ball field, can not but feel glad and hopeful. He remembers the stooping, narrow-chested men in the crowded thoroughfares, he remembers the long centuries of artificial Ghetto life, and he rejoices for those who shall grow broad of shoulder and brawny of arm, who shall have laughter in their eyes, who shall contribute as great a share to the physical work of the world as has been contributed by their race to the mental and the spiritual life.

THE NEW ENGLAND FARMS

Individual Jewish farmers are scattered through the New England states, and own farms in Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maine, Vermont, and New Hampshire. By far the greater number are located in Connecticut, and they form the most important section of the Jewish farming community in New England. The first settlement dates back to 1891, when a Jewish family, having saved some money by work in a New England mill, purchased a farm near New London, Connecticut. The gregarious instincts of the race, and particularly the desire for adequate religious life, led this family to exert itself in inducing friends and relatives to establish themselves in the neighborhood. In 1892 a creamery was erected by the Baron de Hirsch Fund, and new settlers established themselves in the vicinity of New London, Oakdale, Palmerton, Chesterfield, and Salem. In 1893 a number of Russian Jews employed in the woolen mills, then in operation in Colchester, invested their savings in the purchase of farms in the neighborhood. Having had experience with dairy farming in Russia, they found it more profitable to devote themselves to dairy farming on their new lands. Most of these settled in New London County and also in the neighboring counties of Middlesex and Hartford. Some farmers also located about eight miles from Bridgeport and New Haven. These two cities are excellent markets for dairy products, and but for the great cost of land near the cities the settlers would have established themselves nearer to the market towns.

The position of the Jewish farmers in New England is quite different from that of the colonists in South Jersey. The character of their land, their methods of farming, the market conditions are all different. Yet the greatest distinction is due to their comparative isolation from their co-religionists. They do not have distinct Jewish agricultural

colonies like those in New Jersey; they bought farms where they could get them, and are therefore surrounded in most cases by Yankee neighbors. These played a momentous part in molding the farming life of the Jewish settlers. The latter had many difficulties to contend with. Beginning with limited means and a limited knowledge of their environment they were placed at a still greater disadvantage by the exhausted condition of their land; because of their comparatively small means they found themselves obliged to purchase some of the so-called "abandoned farms." These are farms which had been treated carelessly and unscientifically for generations until their productivity was so reduced as to render them unprofitable for further cultivation. In many cases their owners found themselves compelled to sell them for a much smaller price than the cost of the buildings alone. It is evident that the improvement and the profitable cultivation of such exhausted land requires the unceasing work and care of years. The fact that 90 per cent. of the Jewish farmers remain on their lands speaks much in their favor. Notwithstanding their limited capital, their insufficient knowledge, and the poverty of the land, they gradually accustomed themselves to their new surroundings, adapted themselves to the ways of their Yankee neighbors, and are now successfully pursuing their new vocation. The friendship and advice of these neighbors help them at critical moments, and it was the children who in many instances threw the parents together, for the Jewish children soon learned to know their schoolmates and formed friendships which grew until they included the parents.

Dairy farming is the occupation of most of the New England settlers. It is peculiarly adapted to their land and has been productive of greater profit than market gardening or fruit growing. In dairy farming but little of the fertility of the soil is sold off the farm. The comparatively large number of cattle and the feeding material purchased make possible a more thorough manuring of the land than would be practicable with the same expenditure in any other kind of farming. As a result of this the New England farms are being improved gradually, and are growing more productive from year to year. Moreover dairy products find in New England a ready sale at good prices, and thus yield to the farmer almost immediate cash returns. The Jewish farmers utilize the large markets of Hartford, New London, and

Norwich for cream and butter. Large quantities of milk are sold at the creameries in Colchester and Chesterfield. The former is a very important milk centre and is situated at the end of a short branch of the air line division of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Road, and is about three miles from Turnerville, on the main line. Colchester has a separating plant which offers very good prices for milk. From 3 to 3½ cents per quart are paid there, and in the large market it is sold according to the market quotations.

The Jewish farmers realize the value of modern methods. They are careful, in many instances, to select the very best cows that they can get. They have built a number of silos for the preservation of corn. They follow the instructions of their experiment station officers in regard to the compounding of rations for their cattle. On many farms the equipment is still incomplete, but the officers of the Jewish Agricultural and Aid Society have taken an active interest in the affairs of the Jewish farmers and are not backward in extending aid and encouragement where they are needed most.

Like the colonists in South Jersey, the Jewish farmers in New England had various occupations in Europe. Most of them, however, were either artisans or petty traders. Men with large families were more certain of success, for at the beginning at least they were obliged to look for a part of their income to the mill or factory. The enthusiasm that marked the early days of the South Jersey colonies was not lacking here. The farmers went to work and bore their hardships bravely. They seemed to have imbibed something of the spirit of their Yankee neighbors, for they show much self-reliance and independence of character. In their religious life they are as a rule orthodox and provide for the instruction of their children in Hebrew and Jewish history. There is also a measure of social life, particularly during the holidays. Their relations with one another are friendly, and they represent on the whole an intelligent portion of the Russian immigrants.

Most of the farms were purchased by the settlers at two-thirds the original costs of the buildings. The purchase price varied from \$1,200 to \$1,500 with an immediate cash payment of one-third to one-half the purchase price. The houses are in most cases frame buildings, and the farms are supplied with the necessary outbuildings. The land is roll-

ing or hilly, and the soil is gravelly or loamy. Although the most important branch of agriculture that is followed is dairy farming, they also engage in truck farming, grain growing, poultry keeping, and fruit growing. A beginning has been made in the construction and management of green houses. A number of farmers have purchased incubators, and are raising chickens for the market. Like their Yankee neighbors, they derive an important part of their income from summer boarders. Many Jewish people from New York and Boston prefer to board with Jewish farmers in New England, because of the kosher board that can be secured. This "agricultural industry," if it may be called such, offers the additional advantage to the farmers that they have a home market for the products of their farms. The canning of tomatoes has also been started at Colchester, and gives promise of greater development. The Jewish farmers of New England utilize their grapes for wine making and in some cases earn a little money in lumbering and the cutting of railroad ties. The children of a number of the farmers work in the small mills near Oakdale, Norwich, and Palmerton, and thus contribute something to the resources of their families. Yet the New England farmers depend upon the factories but to a limited extent, and these do not play the important part in their life that they do in the life of the South Jersey colonists.

There are probably about 400 Jewish farmers in the New England states. The farms average about 100 acres each, and the total acreage is therefore about 40,000. On the average there are probably ten head of cattle on each farm, and enough horses to do the farm work. The Jewish farmers are gradually paying off their obligations and improving their holdings. Their future in New England has much promise.

(B) WESTERN STATES

In describing the condition of the Jewish farmers located in the north-western states of the Union as observed by the writer, who, accompanied by Mr. William Kahn, of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society, of New York, visited the homes of a large number of these people during the summer of 1903, more than a mere narrative to gratify the curious is intended. How the Jew lives and works as an agriculturalist in America must be of the deepest interest to every well-meaning and earnest Jew and Jewess. For, however favorable the "chances" city life offers to the poor Jewish immigrant from Russia and Roumania to rise from a peddler to an importer or from a sweat-shop operator to a manufacturer, it is the farm that holds the true key to a difficult situation. Less than a decade or two ago it seems to have been a conviction with even the best of our people that the city offers larger opportunities for the immigrant Jew. Here, it was held, he can lift himself into prominence by means of the industries. The educational institutions, too, it was held, will develop the talents of his children; his son may become a lawyer, physician, or a professor; his daughter may attend the university and become learned in the classics, or she may become an artist, a vocalist, or a pianist. These "chances" are good in the city, while on the farm the Jew will drop out from the world's noticing eye and become, at best, a producer of the plain Irish potato and the artless yellow pumpkin. Such argument seems to have been convincing to many not very long ago. But there is "not the ill wind which blows no man good." The heavier Jewish immigration to the United States caused a wiser attitude. The newer condition as it developed among the Jews living in the congested quarters in the larger cities has taken off the sharp edge of the "chance-in-the-city" argument and the advisability of having the Jewish poor apply themselves to agriculture is no longer questioned by any thinking Jew.

But while the advisability of bringing the Jew to farm-

ing is generally acceded, the feasibility of such a movement is still an open question with many. Can and will the Jew make a successful farmer is a question of more than passing concern to those who, much as they would assist in the movement, cannot bring themselves to believe that the Jew is capable of making farming a successful calling. It is, therefore, for the purpose of forcing home the conviction of the Jew's willingness and ability to till the soil that the following facts and figures concerning the Jewish farmers are given publicly. What is told of conditions is the statement of an eye-witness, what is drawn and concluded by inference is based on years of experience in the work of assisting Jewish poor to make farming their calling, and what is given as impressions is the result of careful study and close observation among these farmers in their own homes and surroundings.

Before relating, however, what was seen and learned on these visits to the various farmers in Dakota, Wisconsin, Michigan, Indiana and Illinois, it is deemed proper — and it will surely prove news to many — to state that, most conservatively estimated, there are more than one thousand Jewish farmers located in the territory west of the Alleghenys and east of the Rocky Mountains. With nearly three hundred of these Jewish farmers the Jewish Agriculturists' Aid Society of America (whose office is in Chicago) is more or less in constant touch. These farmers are engaged exclusively in agriculture; no other industry is followed by them save what comes within the sphere of their calling. They are actively engaged in all forms of the work; from gardening and dairy farming near the cities in Illinois to wheat farming and cattle raising in the Dakotas; from truck farming in Florida to diversified farming in Indiana and Wisconsin; from fruit farming in Michigan to cotton raising in Oklahoma. They were all, at the outset, unfamiliar with the work of farming as it is carried on in this country, but, thanks to their untiring energy, they have succeeded — some most admirably, others quite satisfactorily — in their undertaking. There can be little doubt as to the ultimate success of these willing workers, among whom, more than anything else, is manifest a spirit of great contentment and a true delight in their new calling.

After a forty hours' trip from Chicago by way of St. Paul and Bismarck to Wilton, North Dakota, we left the railroad and started on a tour through the country. Going

eighteen miles northwest of Wilton we came to the farm of L. C. This farmer is one of the latest arrivals in North Dakota, he having come out from New York with his wife and eight children at the end of last year. He is located, like all our farmers in Dakota, on a homestead of 160 acres, and though this is his first summer on a farm he has made considerable improvement on the place. He has broken 35 acres of land, 32 of which he has put in flax and the balance in corn, potatoes and garden stuff. He has the assistance of a son, eighteen years of age, and a younger daughter, who, like Whittier's "Maud Muller" does not shun raking the hay on a hot summer day. On our arrival at the farm we found these two young people in the field "haying"; the son on the mower, and the girl on the hay rack, and they were at it with a readiness as if they had been accustomed to it from early childhood. The father was busy putting a curb in the well, and was assisted by one of his younger children. Another one of his boys was herding the cows. The best help, however, this man has is his good wife. Her hand is visible in every part of the home. The modest dwelling they erected was yet incomplete. It was in a condition to afford shelter for the summer but not for winter. In spite of its incompleteness the house was arranged to afford the best comfort to the large family of ten people that occupies it. Both husband and wife are appreciative of the situation. They know that there is great work before them, but they are ready for it, and the satisfaction they expressed at having reached even this state in their undertaking, their hopefulness for the future, and the cheerfulness with which they and their children are at their work, augurs well for their success. They are the people who indeed will succeed. An incident which occurred while we were at the house of this family deserves special mention. It illustrates the good quality of the people; a quality essential in the character of those Jews who desire to build up their homes and establish themselves as agriculturists. The C. family, prior to making their homestead entry, conducted a grocery store on the East Side in New York City. Among the relics of that time is a photograph showing the whole family arrayed in all the pomp and finery becoming the position of an East Side grocery merchant. On that photograph the father appears with a heavy watch chain, the mother with her earrings and finger rings, while the children are bedecked with laces and ribbons in great profusion.

Noticing this family picture we ventured to remark on the fine appearance of the family, and suggested that here on the farm such finery will hardly be appreciated, as there are so few people to notice it. In answer to our remark the woman said: "We are glad we shall not need it. There in New York we worked for the dress and nothing more, here we dress to work and work for a home."

About four miles from this farm are located the homesteads of T. and I. K., father and son. They entered on their homesteads a few months before our visit. They also came from New York, where the other members of the family—mother and children—were left. Having come to their farms at the early spring, they had to go to land-breaking and hence could not build their home so as to enable them to bring the family to the farm. On our arrival at their "shack," we found them preparing for haying. They had built a stable, dug a well and cellar, and the material for their dwelling was on the place ready to be put up as soon as time would permit them to do so. In the field they had done good work. They had broken 40 acres of land, seeded it in flax, which was in an excellent state. The "breaking" which was done by the son, an ex-cloak maker, showed that it did not take the young man much time to learn how to guide the plow. The acreage worked indicated that the work, so well done, was accomplished in a reasonably quick time. Speaking with this family of the change they had made and of the many hardships they had already endured, and which they will still have to endure before they will be able to have their family comfortably housed on the farm, they expressed their absolute confidence in the future, asserted that they will shun no work and mind no difficulty in carrying out their intention of making the homesteads in reality what they were now but in name.

From here we drove eight miles, south by east, passing the homesteads of J. M. and M. Z., whom we expected to meet at the farm of M. brothers, the place of our destination. The M. brothers' farm, with its large dwelling house, stables and outhouses, its live stock of nine horses, five cows, and as many calves, makes an attractive showing. The dwelling house is situated on a somewhat elevated place and is visible from quite a distance. As we drew near we noticed the cattle in the pasture, the light green fields of young grain and the darker green of the young flax stretch-

ing before us in large patches, the whole forming a picture indicating life, human energy, and intelligent activity.

The brothers M. are Roumanians who came to this country within the last few years. One of them came to America during the early part of 1899, and the other two followed him a year later. To a limited extent they followed agriculture in their native home, but, here in America they, like most of the newcomers from Russia, Roumania and Galicia, went to the city — Chicago, in this instance — where they found the usual employment in the sweat-shop and in the picture frame factory. Accustomed to rural life and to work in the open air they could not well bear the change the new condition imposed upon them. Especially did the wife of the oldest brother suffer by this change. She could not endure the life in the congested quarters in the city and fell sick. Learning of the work of the Jewish Agriculturists' Aid Society of America, these people, together with Max Z., a brother of the wife of one of the M.'s and a young man of exceptionally fine physique, made application for a loan to enable them to take up the work of farming. Their application received favorable consideration at the hands of the directors of the society and loans aggregating the sum of \$2,000 were granted to them. They located on homesteads in Burleigh County, North Dakota, and though this was their first season on their homesteads they were already well established. They have over eighty acres under cultivation on their various homesteads. Most of the acreage is seeded in flax with every prospect of a good yield. On one of the homesteads they built a commodious six-room house, on the other a large barn, and with the smaller buildings on the other homesteads, cellar, stable and sheds, their improvements in this respect represent a value of twelve hundred dollars or more. Their live stock is worth more than one thousand dollars, and with wagons, harness, buggy and other implements they offer ample security for the money loaned to them. More than this security, however, must be counted their eagerness and ability to improve their estates.

Our next stopping place was at the farm of V. B. We arrived here after dark and were cordially greeted by Mr. and Mrs. B., who expressed their delight at the opportunity of having us stay at their home over night. Entering the house we found that our hosts had already some company. Two boys, sons of one of the Jewish farmers in the neigh-

borhood, were here. Their father had purchased a cow and a calf from a farmer a few miles away, and the boys were on their way home with the purchase. They had yet about six miles to their home, and turned in here for the night, expecting to start again on their journey with the break of day. Expressing our doubt as to the ability of our hosts to shelter so many guests in their home, we were assured that there was plenty of room for all. It was, indeed, pleasing to note with what cheerfulness the hospitality was extended; a cheerfulness which partook of a sense of thankfulness to Divine Providence for having granted the blessings that made possible the hospitality.

For the first three years on their homesteads the occupants lived in a sod-house erected by their own hands, which afforded them a mere shelter. They did bide their time, and in 1902 were able to build for themselves a modest but comfortable home. They look with just pride on the work they have accomplished. They have one of the finest quarter-sections in the township. Sixty-five acres of this they have under cultivation. They have eight milch-cows, three heifers and calves, five horses and a colt, besides all the machinery and implements. They are indebted, all told, to the amount of a little over \$1,000, but their estate is worth to-day three times that amount, and the money they owe is well secured. Five years ago these people arrived here in Chicago from Russia. The man went to work in a sweat-shop, earning from six to seven dollars a week. He soon learned that the conditions in the city were not promising for him, and he applied for a loan in order to take up a homestead of free government land. At first a loan of \$600 was granted to him, and with that — not having a dollar of his own — he started at his venture. The family went through considerable hardship, but were not daunted.

An object lesson of how the Jew will live as a farmer was given through a slight incident which happened while we were at this farm. It has always been maintained by the writer that the Jew, with his high regard for life and his indomitable ambition to make life bright and worthy, will, when he takes to farming, broaden the view of the agriculturists and do much towards dispelling the odium which hangs on to the "hay-seed" by reason of his proverbial narrow-mindedness. While at the breakfast table in the home of our friend B., the hostess waited on us and talked to us of the future plans of the family. Among others she

stated that, if the crop turned out as expected, she could go the coming fall to Bismarek to have a tooth fixed. During the afternoon we had occasion to visit the home of a non-Jewish farmer with whom we had some dealings in the past. This farmer is an old settler and quite well-to-do. As we drove into his yard we pulled up before a low shed covered with straw, the house of this farmer. We found that our man was not at home. His wife came to the door, barefooted, and as she spoke one could not fail to notice the exceedingly bad condition of her teeth. This made a decided impression, and a thought not unfamiliar came forcibly upon us. Here was an old settled farmer whose possessions were worth ten times as much as those of his Jewish neighbor, housed in a one-room shed, compared with which the house of our friend B. is a veritable palace. The Jewish farmer's wife having one defective tooth is ready to have it attended to, while the wife of the other, if not wholly ignorant of the existence of the dentist, seems never to have thought of availing herself of the good service of that individual. What a difference in the conception of life. Oh, for the day when the Jew will again be a farmer ! The Jewish seer's dream of beautiful homes, where every man will dwell peacefully and contentedly under his own vine and fig-tree, can best be realized through the Jewish conception of life and by the Jewish tiller of the soil. In more than one way has the Jew brought home to the world the lessons of life, teaching the way to sweeten and to beautify it.

From the V. B. farm we went to the house of H. B. This man has the distinction of being the first settler in his township. He came here from Chicago four years ago, and pitched his tent in the open country, several miles away from any neighbor. He had the choice of the best lands and he selected a fine homestead. He was, however, not long without neighbors. Within less than two years the homesteads in his township were taken, and to-day there is not an acre of free government land left unoccupied in his vicinity. We found B. in the field cutting hay. He was on the mower looking every inch a farmer. There was nothing about him which would denote the uninitiated worker. There was a fine span of horses before the machine, harnessed after the most approved farmer's style. The mower, too, though four years old, was in excellent condition—the whole outfit equal to any that can be found among the

Swedish, Norwegian, and German farmers in the vicinity. We drove along his farm looking at the crops. He had nearly one hundred acres under cultivation, forty of which were seeded in wheat and spelt, though with a poor prospect of any yield. He had, however, nigh fifty acres in flax which is in excellent condition. He had also a few acres in corn, and oats, besides potatoes, beans, beets, etc. His live-stock, consisting of seven horses and twelve head of horn cattle, we also found to be in splendid condition, and it alone easily represents a value fully covering the amount of the indebtedness of this farm.

In the extreme northern portion of McLean County, in township 150, Range 78, are located sixteen Jewish homesteaders. The homesteads are all within a radius of about twelve miles, the nearest being about eight miles from Bal-four. Our first visit was to the homesteads of the R. family. This family, consisting of father, two married sons and a son-in-law, have entered on four homesteads, two of which are located together while the others are about two miles apart. Considering the short time they had been on their respective homesteads—having filed their entries the winter before—the improvements they made bear evidence not only of their willingness to work as farmers but, what is more important, of their ability to do so. They built a large barn which was serving them as shelter until the house under construction would be ready for them. They also erected stables for their cattle, dug wells, constructed cellars and made the necessary fences around their yards. They had nearly one hundred acres under cultivation, eighty of which were seeded in flax, and, they had, at the time of our visit, made nearly forty tons of hay. Their live stock consisted of eight horses, three cows, two heifers and three calves. We stayed for more than a day and had an opportunity to observe the farmers at their work. The favorable impression which we had of these people was strengthened by this observation.

From here we went about ten miles south where, in township 149, we came to the homestead of G. This settler had come out from New York with his wife and eight children during the fall of 1902. He was assisted by the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society and established himself upon a fine tract of fertile land. Though about eighteen miles away from the railroad, the homestead has been wisely chosen, it being well watered and free from

stony and alcoholated patches so often found in the prairies of the Dakotas. G. has built for himself a comfortable dwelling, a good barn and stable, and has broken over forty acres of land since he settled upon his homestead. He has four horses, two cows and two calves. He has the assistance of his eldest son, seventeen years of age, and of a good wife who looks after the comfort of her husband and children. About a mile away to the west is located a sister of Mr. G., a widow with her three children. In this vicinity also are located two young men, who, not being able to find any free government land nearer their own homes, came out further west and located in McLean County. We found them here on their claims engaged in hay-making, but who expected by the following year to begin the improvements on their homesteads as required by the law. In this connection it is also worthy of mention that six more young men, sons of Jewish farmers of Ramsey County, had the previous spring gone as far west as Ward County, and located as homesteaders. The action of these young men is a telling answer to the often repeated question, "Will the sons of our Jewish settlers stay farmers?" We had occasion to speak with these young men and from all we could ascertain we are convinced that it would require very strong inducements to bring them to live in the city. They love the country and their chosen vocation, and are on their respective homesteads to stay and work as agriculturists.

Another young man broke fifty-four acres of land during last spring. He also is the son of a farmer located in Ramsey County. The boy was about eight years of age when he came with his father to the farm. He has grown up at the work, and has now filed an entry for a homestead of his own in McLean County. He came to his homestead equipped with the necessary implements and live stock, all of which are in first-class shape and condition, and second to none that can be found in charge of any young farmer in the state. A third Jewish young boy, who two years ago, was working in a factory in Chicago, broke forty acres of land during the spring. This is excellent work for a novice. Undoubtedly the good example of his young friends, their valuable advice, and their encouraging words, have contributed no little to the success of this novice farmer. Seeing these three young men together, one could not help being thoroughly impressed with the

absurdity of the usual saw that the Jew cannot or will not make a farmer. It would be hard indeed to find in any farmer community three young men better equipped and more willing to do the work and lead the life of the farmer.

From McLean County we went by way of Minot down to St. Paul, and from there to Northern Wisconsin where we visited some of our older settlers in that vicinity. We have here some Jewish farmers who have, so to speak, grown up with the country; having purchased wild lands about ten years ago when the country was but very sparingly settled. Unfamiliar with the work they were to perform and unaccustomed to a life of such thorough seclusion as was necessarily theirs in this new country, they endured much trial and privation. However, they have suffered and labored till they have learned and succeeded, and they are to-day well established in a most fertile country, surrounded by kind and pleasant neighbors, with whom they stand on an equal footing as self-respecting producers. A more contented people than our Jewish farmers in Burron County, Wisconsin, will be hard to find anywhere, and their contentment is well founded.

We can not refrain from giving, as concisely as possible, the story of one of our families located in this vicinity. It will illustrate the possibilities farming holds for even the poorest among the poor, and will also demonstrate the fact that the means applied in helping the Jewish poor, ready and willing to work, to change the condition from poverty to affluence need be no waste of money, but an interest-bearing investment, ample and well secured. Nine years ago the family in question, consisting of husband, wife, and six children, the oldest of whom was a boy of thirteen years of age, lived in the city in dire poverty. The husband worked in a factory, earning eight dollars per week when work was plentiful. Through sickness in the family he fell back in paying the rent for his house, and within less than a year the family was evicted three times. With the assistance of the Jewish Agriculturists' Aid Society the family removed from the city to the farm. Eighty acres of wild land were purchased—title being taken in the man's name—and after the most necessary buildings had been erected on the premises, a few implements and some live stock obtained, the family was indebted to the society to the amount of over \$1,000. After the first year on the farm our friend was in a position that required

further aid from the society, and \$200 more was invested to enable the man to hold out on the farm. After the lapse of the second year the family was able to maintain itself, but was unable to pay even the few dollars of taxes levied against the property. The progress the people made during the first years on the farm was slow. The work they did was very superficial. No one could handle the tools needed on such a farm properly, and it was not until after the family had been five years on the farm that the society felt justified in purchasing suitable tools and placing them at the disposal of the people. All these years advances of various sums of money had to be made in order to help them. These sums, together with the interest of four per cent. on all amounts advanced, brought up the indebtedness of this family to nearly \$1,500. During this time, while the process of turning the Jewish family who, like other Jewish families, were not farmers, into a people of the soil, not a few insisted that the money was wasted. In fact, a gentleman who, four years ago, went out west for the purpose of visiting the Jewish farmers and investigating their condition, and who also visited the family in question, was not slow in asserting that the society is "sinking money on that farm." The society, however, disregarded these statements and went, as this society always does, the full length of its endeavor, and the desired end has been attained. The family to-day is not only in a position to make the annual payments on its indebtedness, but has already an equity of \$1,500 in the estate. Fully sixty acres of the wild lands have been cleared and the property, with the buildings on it, is marketable for \$2,500 at any time. This price has been set upon the farm by the bank at Barron, as being so reasonable that a purchaser for the property can be had for it at a day's notice. Besides the equity in the land, the family has six cows, four heifers, four steers, three calves, a fine span of horses, a farmer wagon, a light spring wagon, all the implements, among which there is a mower, a rake and binder, besides plows, harrows, etc., and a stump-puller that cost over \$100. It need hardly be added that the indebtedness of the family is now well secured and that the money invested has not been "sunk," but judiciously and advantageously applied. It should be stated, however, that while the family having learned the work, is now in a position to pay back what has been advanced on its account, it is at the

same time improving the property and within six or eight years, when the full amount of the indebtedness will have been paid, will be in possession of an estate of from six to eight thousand dollars. But while the repayment of the investment has been assured, and a nice little estate created for that poor family, the Jewish Agriculturists' Aid Society has worked for an aim by far higher than the one to which can be applied a money standard. The people have been raised from a condition of depending, cringing poverty to the dignified state of self-reliant manhood.

Numerous other instances could be given showing the satisfactory progress made by the protégés of the Jewish Agriculturists' Aid Society of America. However, the foregoing descriptions fully suffice to point the great lesson which American Jewry must, of sheer necessity, learn and take to heart. Nor can it be overlooked that the success attained by these Jewish farmers is due to their own efforts and to the readiness and willingness with which they undertook the work. True, they had to be assisted in order to be able to take up the work, but it was their own perseverance and the undaunted courage with which they bore the hardships and privations incidental to the undertaking that assured success. To say that the Jew is no farmer is simply stating an accepted fact, but to maintain that he will not become a successful farmer is a grave error. What the few hundred Jews have attained and are attaining by tilling the soil in our western states, many thousands of the Jewish poor that at present are crowding the settlements in the cities will attain if they are given the chance. This fact cannot be too strongly emphasized. In the face of existing conditions, under which it is apparent that the Jewish centre of gravity is shifting from the Russian Pale of Settlement to America, the fact that the Jew will successfully work as an agriculturist is of the utmost importance; it is the essential in the proper adjustment of the social-economic position of the Jew in America. Whatever might have been the political, economic, and religious condition of the Jew in the old world, here in America his complete emancipation can be accomplished. Nothing will aid more effectively in the consummation of this end than his employment at agriculture.

XIII
CONCLUSIONS

By CHARLES S. BERNHEIMER

CONCLUSIONS

We have now concluded a study bearing on possibly one million out of total of one and a half million Jews in the United States.

We have seen in the consideration of the economic condition of the immigrant Jews in the several cities that they stand out pre-eminently in the clothing trade.¹

Many of the workers have risen to the position of contractors, as has been pointed out, but this has often been, so to speak, a false rise, being begotten of the desire to be an employer, or "boss," and having as its effect the increase of these go-betweens of the laborers on the one side, and the manufacturers on the other. The latter were thus enabled to bring to bear a pressure resulting in a competition which lowered the profits of the contractors and the wages of the laborers. From this there arose constant friction, reacting on the manufacturer and inducing a tendency on his part to deal with the laborer in a factory of his own, thus doing away with the small shop and its concomitant evils. On the part of the worker we have a constantly increasing recognition of the value of organization, with the consequent appreciation of the importance of maintaining standards as to hours, wages, and comforts. This maintenance, is, however, made difficult by that very mobility to which we have adverted, by constant additions of newly arrived immigrants, and by unorganized workers from without, such as farmers' families and the like, who can successfully compete in lines of industries requiring little skill or necessitating little organization in the factory.

There is a more direct connection of these industries with the professions in many individual instances than is generally suspected. One year may see a clothing or cloak worker in a shop; in a few years there will be a sign at

¹ "By 1890 the Jews had virtually gained control of the clothing industry in New York, a control that they have succeeded in maintaining to the present time." Willett, *The Employment of Women in the Clothing Trade*, p. 34.

See, also, *Report of Industrial Commission*, Vol. XV, p. 324.

the residence of this same man, "—— M. D." The desire to go into the professions is intense.

Between the shop workers and the professional men there are a variety of occupations into which the population has entered. Among the younger generation who have had the benefit of schooling there is getting to be less and less distinction as to the sort of occupation which they enter. But there is, as has been shown, too great a tendency to enter a few professions and to go into occupations requiring comparatively little use of the hands.

With full recognition of the difficulty of overcoming this tendency and of the value of giving the best possible intellectual training to those who have the necessary aptitude, it seems to me that there ought to be a strong movement in the direction of manual training and industrial education. Manual training will aid in the normal development of the individuals, in a broadening of their powers, in a rounding out to counter-balance what has heretofore been a one-sided growth. Industrial education should be emphasized so that the trades and the professions requiring mechanical training will be taken up. With ability as skilled workers, many young men will have a better opportunity than in their attempts to crowd the stores and offices. It seems desirable that educational institutions intended for the Jewish immigrant population, especially in the larger cities, should have as important features, manual instruction, and the teaching of mechanical trades and professions.

The movement of the immigrants away from the densely populated quarters of the large cities is now receiving attention. The Jersey settlements and the New England and western farms are all evidences of a rural life. They are admittedly small beginnings which in many instances have required and still require subsidizing of one kind or another, and which, like most small farming operations nowadays, are difficult of maintenance alongside the competition of farming on a large scale. Nevertheless, they are helpful in the movement by which the crowding in the large cities is sought to be modified. This work is also given an impetus by the Industrial Removal Office, as a result of which a number of immigrants have been directed to smaller places. Such an undertaking, if steadily pursued, should control to some extent the settlement of immigrants in the larger centres and be the means of drawing

others besides those directly sent to the less crowded communities.

Whatever the enemies of Jews may say against them, they recognize an intense intellectual keenness and a desire to learn. Some antagonists sometimes turn to this very ability as a factor which makes it difficult for the rest of the population to compete with them. But such argument fares ill with the Yankee, the American, the Anglo-Saxon; he possesses too much of that same alertness and cleverness, has proceeded too far in the school of tolerance, is too broad-minded and fair minded, to permit such a claim to be made against intellectual superiority, however acquired or manifested.

On all sides it is admitted that the Jewish immigrant population places its children at school. This is a matter of the most common observation. It is as true in Great Britain¹ as in the United States.

Not only is the appreciation of intellectual work shown in formal schooling, it is marked in the sharpness of intellect beyond the school, as is indicated in the following observation, "I have met keener speculative ardor and more force in argument among the young Hebrews of the East Side in New York than among the young athletes of our universities."² If Miss Scudder's words were taken literally I can add that the "young Hebrews" would resent being compared with the "young athletes," for some of these same "young Hebrews" are students of the universities, excelling in scholarship the "young athletes." It is, however, true that some of the young men who are unschooled in the conventional sense show strong intellectual traits and subtle dialectic qualities,—sometimes to an excessive degree, regarding argument too much as an end instead of a means to the attainment of correct thought and action. This, of course, does not affect the main contention, that the Russian Jew, young and old, shows a superior intellectual and educational standard. One reason for the strong intellectual capacity and the high intellectual ideal of the Jew is attributable to the study of the Bible and the Talmud proceeding from generation to gen-

¹ "Jewish children, encouraged in every way at home, often progress with astonishing rapidity, and seldom fail to reward the ambition of their parents by a substantial advance on their original condition." Mary C. Tabor, in Booth, *Life and Labor of the People*, Vol. III, p. 223.

² Vida D. Scudder, "A Hidden Weakness in Our Democracy," *Atlantic Monthly*, May, 1902.

eration, and to the necessity which has been forced upon him to live by his wit.¹

The older Jew, weak in body, fails in appreciation of the physical development which makes the well-rounded normal man. The young Jew, by his contact at school, at college, in the world at large, is beginning to realize its value. With the great interest in sports at our educational institutions, he becomes affected by the enthusiasm. This is rapidly growing, and it will help to save him from the deterioration which might have set in amid the rapid workings of the life here. Wherever Jews are in institutions, or wherever influences can be brought to bear, the opportunity for physical education should be utilized. This will not only help the merely physical development, but bring about more normal growth, away from concentration on the purely mental.

We have seen the social development of the immigrant Jew. The Jew of the older generation has his synagogue as a centre of social attraction. Connected with this are the auxiliary societies of the congregation; even the burial society affords means of social intercourse. As we proceed through the layers of society according to the length of years in which the inhabitants have been in this country, we find that the means of social enjoyment approach more and more the methods that prevail among the people generally. Thus we have the lodge and the beneficial society, the social, the party, and the ball, as well as the concert and the theatre. We have noted among the older element and that not thoroughly Americanized that the Yiddish theatre is an attraction and that it presents some admirable features. We have observed, too, unfortunate tendencies to Americanize the theatre and the amusements, according to New York Bowery standards.

Among all immigrant populations the misunderstanding between the parents and the children is one of the saddest consequences of settlement in a strange land. The children of necessity become rapidly adapted to the ways of the native population, but the parents remain foreigners. This is true of the Jewish people. The children are often bread winners of the family to a considerable extent and the interpreters for their parents to the outside world, so that they acquire an importance which saps parental authority at a

¹ "The average Jew could always read and write." Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, p. 340.

time when that should be the strongest force to control the children and keep them out of the ways that tempt. The parents are frequently employed during the day and are prevented from looking after their children, even when they have the necessary force and power. The home surroundings are frequently poor, and the children naturally seek an outlet elsewhere. This will explain why some Jewish children of this immigrant population are becoming street children, children with the roughness and brutality of the people of the street, copying their vicious language and habits, and why they sometimes enter into lives of crime.

Juvenile delinquency is a serious matter among all the nationalities whose children are being reared in the United States. Unquestionably one of the causes in the congested quarters, aside from that of parental lack of supervision, is the failure to provide a healthy outlet for the children. Forced from the contracted habitations of one, two, or three rooms into the streets, they get into various sorts of mischief. The boys would gladly play baseball, basketball or football in a park or playground nearby, but these are not nearby for most of them; they cannot even play in their own back yard, as their better-to-do brothers, and so they use the street for their games, and must be on the lookout for the "cop" who watches for the petty violation of street ordinances. If they break a window, their fathers do not settle, they have no influence, and the boys are haled before a magistrate or a court and dubbed juvenile criminals. From being in the street, and kept from healthy play, they are "up to" all kinds of pranks, even the serious one of stealing. If left unchecked the boys really become criminals. Any one who knows the conditions among the foreign nationalities, in a congested quarter of one of the great cities, realizes that it is the surroundings which are largely responsible for the misdeeds of boys and not in most cases the home surroundings so much as the city environment in general. We know that among the Jewish population the parents of the delinquent are ordinarily not criminals, but they are sometimes too weak to control the children because of lack of clear understanding of their relations to our institutions.

The juvenile court, which is becoming more and more recognized, has an important preventive influence, with its invaluable and indispensable co-operator, the system of pro-

bation officers, provides for such contingencies. The juvenile delinquent is kept watch over by the probation officer and the parents at the same time become educated in the proper training of their children through the visits of this officer. If the surroundings of the child are bad in the judgment of the probation officer, the court will usually endeavor to have it placed away from its home influences either by having it sent to be taken care of by another family, preferably in the country, or by committing it to an institution, either public or private. We lack in private institutions for delinquent children, and so they are frequently committed to a public one.

It is to counteract low standards and degrading tendencies, to conserve the Jewish moral and ethical ideals, and to help in the advance toward the highest types of citizenship that the educational, social and religious institutions and influences must come in. The implanting of principles of conduct and order according to the most elevated standards of the land must be kept in mind. The supplying of means of play and recreation as an outlet to the activities of the young must always be considered. The population must be surrounded with healthful, attractive places of social gathering in the absence of such places in the home, and to counteract dangerous resorts to which young people, of any class, may easily be lured when not kept watch over. The necessity of providing preventive influences must be emphasized. A number of such have been established, but they are inadequate to cope with the conditions. Play grounds, vacation schools, the public schools, the settlements, educational societies, libraries, all help along this line, but the community of each city must be brought to realize the importance of greater effort. Such influences as have been adverted to take up groups and individuals, but their scope is necessarily limited, — very often the greater their limitations as to numbers, the better their influence on the few with whom they come in contact. The Jewish population are susceptible of high development. The fact that they are massed together in large numbers in strange surroundings has caused them to lead an abnormal life. There must be a realization of the necessity of helping them to help themselves. Everything possible to improve their surroundings should be done, but whatever is done should be on the principle, not that the individuals are

being helped, but that the community life generally is being improved.

"Of all men," says Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu,¹ "the Russian, once rid of his traditional ideas, of his national prejudice, is the most completely freed. In this respect, no other can be compared to him, but the Jew, the modern Israelite. He, too, at contact with aliens, passes from the extreme of the spirit of veneration to the extreme of free thinking, from the oriental traditionalism, to which the bulk of his brethren stubbornly cling, to the most daring feats of the spirit of innovation." When, therefore, we have the combination of the Russian, the intellectual Russian, and the Jew, the advanced Jew, we may not unexpectedly have a most radical resultant, and it ought not surprise us to find it in the United States, where the Jew can give full swing to his philosophical speculations. It is this extreme tendency which makes religious stability difficult and which forces upon us one of the most serious religious problems. The older generation fail to provide for the religion of their children. True, they maintain the forms, observe the ceremonies, celebrate the holy days and the holidays, attend the synagogue, but their children do not follow in their footsteps. The opposition of two divergent influences, two different environments, separates the two generations, and one cannot understand the other and will not yield to the demands of the other. The older generation who observe the religious laws and principles insist that the strict letter must be maintained. They have been brought up in a Ghetto secluded from the rest of the community, mingling with it for the purpose of making a livelihood whenever necessary, but returning to the community fold to follow the religious customs. The younger generation have been thrown into a world in which they are part of the larger community, with the same opportunities as all the rest, with no isolating laws, no restrictions. They have become part of the English-speaking Americans; their aspirations are those of the young people of the country. The shock of freedom has thrown many of them into a state of indifference, of nothingness, of intense reaction against the practices of their fathers. To them the Hebrew chantings in the synagogue have no meaning; the symbolism of the forms

¹ *The Empire of the Tsars and the Russians*, Vol. I, p. 122.

and ceremonies is lost; their intellects refuse to accept as religious that which seems fantastic.

There are some who are endeavoring to find a point of worship which will be more in accord with the modern spirit, which will adopt an orderly service with the vernacular as part of the language of prayer. The reform movement among the Jews of other classes who came here before the Russian immigration was the outcome of some such clash of ideas, but the Russian and Eastern European Jewish element has thus far shown but little evidence of following along the lines of the German Jewish reform movement.

In his description of the career of the late Chief Rabbi Joseph of New York, Abraham Cahan¹ points out the quick changes and vicissitudes which have taken place among the religious activities of the Russian Jewish population, even among those of the older generation. He says: "Rabbi Joseph remained the man of the third century he had been brought up to be while his fellow country people, whom he came here to lead, were in hourly contact with the culture of the nineteenth century. A gap was yawning between the chief rabbi and his people, one which symbolized a most interesting chapter in the history of Israel, but which foreshadowed the tragedy of the newcomer's life in this country."

This has reference to a growing change of attitude. So far as religious observances are concerned, the change is very much less formal among the older than among the younger generation; it is of slower growth and more subtle; but it indicates an evolution of Russian and Polish Israel in America which will be sanctioned; it presages a Judaism away from the strict ritualism of the Ghetto, refined by modern life and conditions.

There are thus, from the religious standpoint, several strata of immigrant Jews in this country: Those of the type of Rabbi Joseph, who cannot adjust themselves; those of the older generation who are gradually diverging from the ritualistic injunctions, though generally maintaining outward form and ceremony; the younger generation who are dissatisfied with the synagogal conditions of their elders, and who want a service and observance with the English language as a medium and the exposition of Jewish ideals

¹ *American Monthly Review of Reviews*, September, 1902.

in the light of modern conditions; and finally, the class who are radicals and iconoclasts of various types standing at present aloof from the synagogal fold.

For those who occupy more or less of a middle ground there is the possibility of what, for want of a better designation, may be called a young people's modern synagogue. The attempts to graft this on the religious life and action are in their incipency, and any judgment as to their permanent possibility is mere guess work. With young, gifted, enthusiastic leaders, sprung from the class for which spiritual provision is to be made, it would seem that there is sufficient fertile religious soil from which a sound growth can be produced. But, unfortunately, there has thus far been a lack of such leaders, and hence the would-be followers have found it difficult to gather on common ground. Those who have the religious welfare of the immigrant population at heart must concentrate on plans to plant congregations of the young people, with an English and Hebrew service and an English-speaking rabbi—not a reform service of the advanced type necessarily, but one that would make the break between the old and the new not sharp and sudden. These are vague terms, but the conditions in the communities are such that it is impossible to give in express, tangible terms a general remedy for the religious ills.

A people with restless energy, shrewd insight, breadth of view, intense intellectual initiative, moral strength, spiritual power,—some of these qualities latent because of lack of opportunity—are thrown into an atmosphere in America for which they are well fitted and in which they would make great advance if they had not to struggle at first with severe economic necessity. The struggle is fierce in certain quarters and during the struggle some untoward results follow. Coming here hampered and trying to adjust themselves, they must strive in a way which those long settled here cannot appreciate. It is our business to improve the conditions surrounding them, and to whatever extent we help them they will profit. They are bound to rise no matter how great the difficulties. All who know the stuff of which they are made have no fear that from the grinding process there will rise men and women of the highest types of citizenship, business and professional men of high grade, poets, scholars, scientific workers in many fields. I am glad to have confirmation of my observations

in the following by Dr. Emil G. Hirsch:¹ " We have no doubt that the new day about to break will show the Russian American Jew as a man of power, with mind well stocked and judgment well trained, with sympathies well refined for all that is good, true, and noble, with loyalty most intense for the best that America calls its own; a citizen well worthy of the prerogative, of the sovereignty which American citizenship confers; a Jew deeply conscious of the beauty, the reasonableness of his faith, the historic beauty that birth from Jewish parents imposes."

¹ Singer, *Russia at the Bar of the American People*, p. XXIX.

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INDEX

- Actors, Yiddish, 229, 250
- Agricultural settlements, in New Jersey, 37, 376-88, 407; in New England States, 388-91, 407; in Western States, 392-402, 407
- Agriculture, in Poland, 27; in Russia, 37
- Alfred Corning Clark House, New York, 47
- Alliance, N. J., 377-88
- Amusements. *See* Social life
- Anarchists, 266, 272
- Anshe Keneseth Israel Congregation, Chicago, 58
- Anshe Maariv Congregation, Chicago, 57-58
- Arbitration, 354, 360
- Artists, East Side New York, Exhibition of, 193
- Assimilation with American life, 33-34, 67, 73, 75, 107, 219, 234, 254, 256, 283, 302, 414
- Associated Jewish Charities, Chicago, 88
- Association for the Protection of Jewish Immigrants, Philadelphia, 55, 79-80, 84
- Bamberger, Prof. G., cited, 211
- Baron de Hirsch Agricultural School, Woodbine, N. J., 382
- Baron de Hirsch Fund, 55, 65, 72, 81, 377
- Baron de Hirsch Trade School, New York, 194, 195
- Baths, 287, 306-08, 322, 324. *See also* Housing
- Beth Israel Hospital, New York, 71-72
- Billings, J. S., cited, 293, 299
- Blaustein, David, cited, 155n
- B'nai B'rith, distribution of immigrants by, 368
- B'nai B'rith Manual Training School, Philadelphia, 206
- Bohemians, death rate of, in New York, 293; diseases among, in New York, 299
- B'rith milah. *See* Circumcision
- Brownsville, N. Y., 43, 67
- Bureau of Personal Service, Chicago, 88, 92, 93, 99
- Burial, 331
- Burial societies, 72, 85, 95, 174
- Byalistock, Russia, 26
- Cafés, East Side New York, 222-24
- Candle tax in Russia, 23
- Carmel, N. J., 377-88
- Central Russian Refugee Committee, 65
- Ceremonies, Jewish, 40, 157, 160, 157, 160, 222, 287. *See also* Religious influences
- Charity. *See* Philanthropy
- Chasdai ibn Shaprut, Jewish diplomat, 18
- Chassidism, influence of, 15
- Chedarim. *See* Schools
- Chevras. *See* Congregations; Relief societies.
- Chicago, map of West Side of, 56; Jews in, 58
- Chicago Hebrew Institute, 181
- Chicago Woman's Aid, 90
- Child labor, 120
- Child labor law of Illinois, 141
- Children. *See* Young people
- Chmielnicki, Bogdan, 20
- Christian missions to the Jews, 155
- Circumcision, 48, 331
- Citizenship, 35, 39, 40, 67, 256, 268, 276, 277, 279
- Coffee, use of, 291
- Clara de Hirsch Home for Working Girls, New York, 195
- Clothing industry, 109-10, 119-20, 128-30, 139, 141, 406
- Clubs, Young people's, 197, 198, 217, 232, 360

- Cohen, Dr. S. Solis-, cited, 316-17
 College Settlement, New York, 193
 College Settlement, Philadelphia, 206, 208
 Congregations, number of, Philadelphia, 54, 84; New York, 155; Chicago, 174
 Contagious diseases, immunity from, 298, 311
 Cossack massacre, 19, 20
 Council of Jewish Women, Chicago Section, 180
 Council of Jewish Women, Philadelphia Section, 169
 Courland, Jews in, 26
 Crime, 39, 55, 73, 337-41, 344-47, 356-58, 362

 Darrow, Clarence S., election of, 278
 Davidson, Thomas, influence of, 193
 Davies, Anna F., cited, 208
 Death rate, 35, 59, 292-93, 299
 Degeneracy, absence of, 67
 Delinquency, juvenile, 73, 92-93, 348, 358-59, 410
 Density of population, 44, 283-84, 292, 304
 Dinwiddie, Emily W., cited, 308
 Diseases, 73, 294-99, 311-17, 328-31
 Distribution of Jewish immigrants, 74, 118-21, 366-73, 407
 Double-decker tenement. *See* Housing
 "Dumb-bell" tenement. *See* Housing
 Drama, Yiddish, 227-28, 230, 235, 250-52
 Drug habits, absence of, 291
 Drunkenness, absence of, 67, 222, 223, 240, 289, 290, 303, 310, 312, 319, 320, 386

 Eastern Penitentiary, Philadelphia, 358
 Economic condition of Jews, in Russia, 21, 25-27, 30; in United States, 102-46
 Economic influences, 102-46
 Economic progress of Jews in United States, 55, 60, 66, 114, 135, 406
 Educational Alliance, New York, 47, 192
 Educational Alliance, Philadelphia, 209
 Education, 85, 88, 60, 184-219, 408-09

 Education, Board of, New York, public lectures, 193
 Education of Jews in Russia, 20-24, 33; of rabbis, 22; of Lithuanian Jews, 27
 Emerson, influence of, 155, 156
 Ethical Culture, Society for, East Side Branch, 153-54

 Factories in the New Jersey settlements, 379, 381, 382, 384
 Factory system as a substitute for sweatshops, 117, 127, 134, 145
 Fairbanks, Hon. Charles W., cited, 38.
 Family, size of, 286, 305.
 Famines, in Russia, 80
 Federation of Jewish Charities, Philadelphia, 31-32
 Food, 59, 288, 289, 391
 Foreign-born, comparison of, 285, 287-88, 293
 Foreign influence in Russia, 28, 29
 Frankel, L. K., cited, 118, 300
 Free burial societies. *See* Burial societies
 Free loan societies. *See* Loan societies

 Gemilus Chasodim. *See* Loan societies
 Germans, in Philadelphia, 52
 Ghettos, European, insanitary condition of, 282
 Ghetto, New York, 49; Philadelphia, 56; Chicago, 60
 Gordin, Jacob, 228, 230

 Hachnosas Orchim. *See* Sheltering Home
 Hebrew Charity Ball Association, Philadelphia, 81
 Hebrew Education Society, Philadelphia, 123, 206
 Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society, 64, 377, 378
 Hebrew Free School, Chicago, 174, 214
 Hebrew Free School, Philadelphia, 167
 Hebrew High School, Philadelphia, 167
 Hebrew Relief Association, Chicago, 87
 Hebrew Technical Institute, New York, 194

- Hebrew Technical School for Girls, New York, 196
 Hebrew Literature Society, Philadelphia, 168, 209
 Hebrew Literary Association, Chicago, 177, 181, 218, 253
 Hebrew Sunday School Society, Philadelphia, 207
 Heilprin, Michael, 377
 Henry Booth House, Chicago, 214, 217
 Holidays, 40, 204, 206
 Home for Aged, New York, 72
 Home for Aged, Philadelphia, 85
 Home for Hebrew Orphans, Philadelphia, 86
 Home for Jewish Friendless and Working Girls, Chicago, 88, 91
 Home for Jewish Orphans, Chicago, 88, 91
 Home of Delight, Philadelphia, 206-07
 Homes for Aged, Chicago, 88, 91, 174-75
 Homes for Working Girls, 91, 195
 Hospitals, 72, 78, 85, 89
 House of Refuge, New York, 73
 House of Refuge, Philadelphia, 359
 Housing, New York, 44-46, 72, 73, 284-88; Philadelphia, 45-47, 55, 59, 75, 304-10; Chicago, 172, 319-32
 Hull House, Chicago, 60, 214, 217
 Hungarians, in Philadelphia, 52, 53
 Hurwitz (Horowitz), M. H., 227

 Immigrants, distribution of, 74, 118-121, 366-73
 Immigration, 159, 367-71
 Immigration, Jewish, Austrian, 66; Galician, 66; German, 12; Roumanian, 57, 66, 367; Russian, 57, 64-66, 76, 77, 80, 83, 84, 87; to United States, 10-14
 Individualism, 11-12, 15-16, 137, 149-150
 Industrial Removal Office, 368-72
 Insanity, 295, 329-30
 Insurance, 133, 252
 Intellectual life, 13, 54, 60, 232, 408.
 See also Education
 Intemperance. *See* Drunkenness
 Irish, death rate of, in New York, 293; diseases among in New York, 299, 301; in Philadelphia, 53
 Italians, death rate of, in New York, 293; diseases among, in New York, 299, 301; in Philadelphia, 52, 53

 Jacobs, Joseph, cited, 102, 282
 James Forten Elementary Manual Training School, Philadelphia, 205, 206
 Jewish Agricultural and Aid Society, New York, 399
 Jewish Agriculturists' Aid Society, Chicago, 393, 396, 401, 403
 Jewish Endeavor Society, New York, 153
 Jewish Endeavor Society, Philadelphia, 168
 Jewish Foster Home, Philadelphia, 76, 78
 Jewish Hospital, Philadelphia, 76, 78
 Jewish law, 352
 Jewish Maternity Association, Philadelphia, 76, 78
 Jewish Protectory and Aid Society, New York, 349
 Jewish Seaside Home, Atlantic City, N. J., 79
 Jewish Training School, Chicago, 60, 180, 213
 Jews, expulsion of, 19, 77, 83; homogeneity of, 15-17, 20
 Jews in Lithuania, 19, 26
 Jews in Poland, 19, 27
 Jews in Russia, 18-31
 Jews in United States, German, 11-14; Hungarian, 13; Polish, 13; Russian, 14; Spanish-Portuguese, 10-11; type of, 15; future of, 16
 Jews, number of, in Chicago, 58; in New York, 102; in Philadelphia, 52n
 Joseph, Jewish King of the Khozars, 18
 Judaism. *See* Religious influences
 Judelson, Jacob, 79
 Juvenile delinquency, 73, 92-93, 348, 358-59, 410

 Kant, followers of, 155, 156
 Khozars, 18-19
 Kindergartens, 205, 214
 King, Edward, influence of, 193
 Kosher. *See* Food
 Kossuth's revolution, consequences of, 12
 Krauskopf, Rev. Dr. Joseph, 169

- Ladies' Hebrew Emergency Society, Philadelphia, 86
 Ladino, 19
 Lassalle Club, Chicago, 218
 Lateiner, Joseph, 228
 Ledger, Philadelphia, cited, 276
 Legal Aid Society, New York, 343
 Leroy-Beaulieu, Anatole, cited, 283, 296, 412
 Lessing Club, Chicago, 60, 253
 Lessing Self Educational Club, Chicago, 254
 Libraries, 198, 210
 Lilienthal, Dr., agent of Russian government for education of Jews, 22
 Lithuania, Jews in, 19
 Lithuanian Jews as educators, 26
 Lithuanians, in Philadelphia, 52, 53
 Litigation, 341-44, 349, 352-56, 360
 Liverpool plan of charity federation, 82
 Loan societies, 71, 85, 151, 174; working of, 96-99
 Lodgers, 286, 320, 321
 Lodges, 84, 171, 181, 252
 Lodz, Russia, enterprise of, 27
 Longevity, 35, 59, 286, 293

 Manual training, 189, 206, 207, 214
 Marriage and divorce, 357, 361
 Marriages, consanguineous, as causes of disease, 297; early, 319
 Maskilim, educators, 22-23
 Maxwell Street Settlement, Chicago, 88, 214, 217
 May regulations, 56, 77
 Meat tax, 289
 Medicine, study of, 106, 107, 133
 Mendelssohn, influence of, 22
 Michael Reese Hospital, Chicago, 88, 89
 Middle class, place of Jews in, 25, 30
 Millionaires, 103
 Moguesco, Sigmund, 228
 Montefiore, Sir Moses, in Russia, 22
 Morality, Jewish, 73, 242, 253, 332, 346-47, 357
 Moscow, Russia, expulsion from, 27, 77, 83
 Moses Montefiore Hebrew Free School, Chicago, 177
 Mount Sinai Hospital, New York, 72
 Mount Sinai Hospital, Philadelphia, Music, and drama, 251; interest in, 196
 Mutual aid societies, 84

 National Farm School, Doylestown, Pa., 387
 Native born, in Philadelphia, 53; diseases among, in New York, 219
 Negroes, in Philadelphia, 52
 New Jersey, Jews in, 43; agricultural settlements in, 376-88
 New York, East Side, map of, 42; Jewish population of, 62, 102; wages in, 119-20
 Nurses' Settlement, New York, 193

 Octavia Hill Association, Philadelphia, 304, 308
 Odessa, Russia, Jews in, 26
 Orphan asylums, 72, 78, 86, 91
 Orphans' Guardians, Philadelphia, 76, 78
 Ouvaroff, Count, efforts of, in behalf of education, 22

 Pale of Jewish Settlement, 25, 77, 157
 Patriotism, 39, 187
 Persecution of Russian Jews, cause of, 21, 29
 Personal Interest Society, Philadelphia, 81
 Philadelphia, map of southeastern section of, 50; area of, 51; Jewish population of, 51-52n, 76, 353; nationalities in, 52-53
 Philadelphia County Prison, 358
 Philanthropy, 55, 62-99
 People's Singing Classes, 196
 Playgrounds, 47, 73, 190
 Playwrights, Yiddish, 227, 228
 Pobiedonosteff, policy of, 21
 Podolia, Russia, Jews in, 26
 Poles, in Philadelphia, 52, 53
 Politics, 38-39, 256-79
 Poor, Jewish, American born, 63
 Poverty, causes of among Jews, 67; in small towns of Russia, 27
 Press, influence of, 33-34, 60, 262, 385
 Prisons, New York, 345-46
 Professions, 106-07, 124, 133, 143, 407
 Public opinion in Russia, 28
 Population. *See* Density of population

- Rabbinical seminaries in Russia, 22-24
- Rabbis, in Russia, 22, 163; in United States, 150, 164, 179
- Real estate, 46, 104, 133, 172, 354, 361
- Relief, adequate, 68; material, by congregations, 175
- Relief societies, 63-71, 76, 84-86, 87, 88, 90, 174. *See also* United Hebrew Charities
- Religious customs, 40, 157, 222
- Religious influences, 148-82, 412-415
- Removal to various parts of New York, 43, 74, 105
- Rents, 286, 305, 306, 309
- Revenue, farmers of, 18
- Riesman, Dr. David, cited, 311-16
- Riots, anti-Jewish, 77
- Ripley, W. Z., cited, 293
- Rosenhayn, N. J., 377-88
- Roumanian Educational Society, Philadelphia, 86
- Roumanian Jewish immigration, 66
- Russia, Jews in, 18-31
- Russia, reform in, 25; influence of foreign thought in, 28-29; character of people in, 20-21, 28-29; economic progress of, 30-31
- Russian Transportation Fund, 65
- Sabbath, 160, 179, 222, 386
- Sanitation, 136, 172, 282-333
- Sargent, Hon. Frank P., cited, 369-70
- School houses, public, in New York, 44
- Schools, Hebrew, 150, 165-67, 173-74, 177-78, 205, 384
- Schools, public, attendance at, 54, 90-92, 166, 185, 200-02, 205, 211-12, 384, 408; scholarship in, 186, 188, 202, 203, 213
- Self Educational Club, Chicago, 177, 181, 218
- Seligman, Jesse, Banquet, 65
- Settlements, social, 47, 193-194, 208, 217, 232
- Sheltering Home, Chicago, 174
- Sheltering Home, Philadelphia, 53, 84-85
- Sigismund August, King of Poland, 19
- Sinai Congregation, Chicago, 58, 180
- Sisterhoods, 69
- Socialists, 28, 138, 197, 224, 261, 266, 267, 279
- Social life, 47, 48, 55, 60, 67, 222-54, 385, 409, 411
- Stature, 282
- Street influence, 48, 55, 73
- Strikes, 34
- Stuyvesant, Governor, Jewish poor in time of, 62
- Suicide, 298
- Sweatshops, 36, 116-17, 124-26, 136, 138; factory system as a substitute for, 117, 127, 134, 140, 145
- Synagogue, a centre of social life, 40, 150, 249
- Talmud Torah. *See* Schools, Hebrew
- Teadrinking, prevalence of, 291, 310
- Technical education, 123, 146, 194, 215-16, 407
- Temperance. *See* Drunkenness
- Tenement house commissions, cited, 284, 285, 291, 292
- Theatre benefits, 229-30, 252
- Theatre, Yiddish, 226, 227, 235, 250-52
- Tobacco, use of, 290, 310
- Town dwellers, Jews as, 283, 296, 366
- Trades, 60, 108-15, 122-33, 143-45, 305, 309, 407
- Trade unions, 34, 115, 116, 134, 137-41
- Tuberculosis, treatment of, 70, 300, 302, 316
- United Garment Workers of America, 134
- United Hebrew Charities, Chicago, 88-89
- United Hebrew Charities, New York, 63-66, 68-70
- United Hebrew Charities, Philadelphia, 55, 76-78, 80
- University Settlement, New York, 47, 93
- University towns of Europe, Russian Jews in, 38
- Volosin, rabbinical seminary in, 23, 166
- Voting, independence in, 251, 261, 262, 265, 276
- Volhynia, Russia, Jews in, 26

- Wages, 113, 119-21, 128-33, 138-45
Warsaw, Russia, rabbinical seminary
in, 23
Weddings, 222, 243-44, 249, 254
Wilna, Russia, rabbinical seminary
in, 22
— Women's labor, 120
Woodbine, N. J., 377-88
Working girls, Homes for, 91, 195
Work rooms for poor women, 69,
90, 93
Yeshibahs. *See* Rabbinical seminaries
Young Men's Charity Association,
Chicago, 95
Young Men's Hebrew Union, Phila-
delphia, 168, 209
Young people, attitude and needs of,
48, 49, 153, 155-56, 170-71, 176,
179, 181-82, 251, 359, 385, 409-14
See also Religious influences; So-
cial life
Young Women's Union, Philadelphia,
205, 207
Zionism, 16, 29, 37, 155, 168, 232,
253
Zion, Order Knights of, 177, 180,
181, 253
Zitomir, rabbinical seminary in, 22
Zueblin, Prof. Charles, cited, 57, 59